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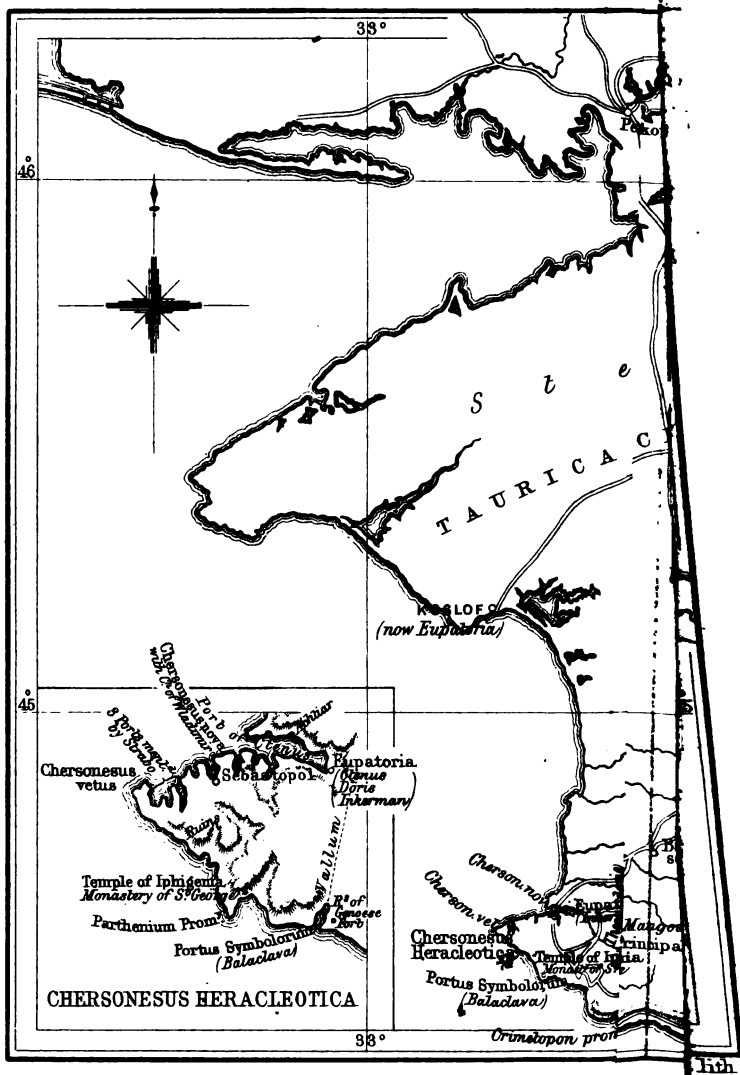


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AN
HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF
THE CRIMEA.

BY
ANTHONY GRANT, D.C.L.

ARCHDEACON OF ST. ALBANS, ETC.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages were prepared in fulfilment of an engagement to deliver a Lecture at a Literary Institute in Hertfordshire. The annals of the Crimea appeared to offer a most suitable topic for such an address, both from the interest at present attaching to the country, and from its connexion with those great revolutions in the fortunes of Europe which form the prominent landmarks of its history. But the subject soon grew beyond the limits of one, or even of two Lectures, so that the whole of what was written could not be delivered. From the interest which it seemed to excite, and from a wish expressed to that effect, I have been induced to publish this "Historical Sketch," as I had prepared it; and the purpose for which it was written will account for the

popular tone which pervades it, and for certain expressions and illustrations, which would not befit the graver style of historical composition. Still I would observe that labour has not been spared to render it a trustworthy and connected record of the actual history of the eventful land described; and if I abstain from loading the pages with notes and references, it is not because many volumes have not been consulted in the preparation of them, but because I would avoid the pretensions of an elaborate production.

The object of utility which I had in view, in undertaking the task, has caused me to add a Chronological Table, which may suggest special points in the history for further and more minute inquiry, to those who may be induced to examine them.

ROMFORD,

May 1855.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE HISTORY OF THE CRIMEA.

B.C.

750.—THE Colonies of Panticapæum (*Kertch*), and Theodosia (*Kaffa*), founded by Milesians.

634.—The Scythians drive the Cimmerians out of Taurida (*Crimea*).

592.—Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, visits Athens.

508.—The expedition of Darius the Mede against the Scythians.

About 500.—The Colony of Cherson (near *Sebastopol*) founded by emigrants from Heraclea in Bithynia.

480.—The kingdom of Bosporus settled under kings called the Archæanactidæ.

390.—Leucon, King of Bosporus, an ally of Athens.

380.—The Sauromatæ (*Sarmatians*) threaten Taurida.

120.—Mithridates, King of Pontus, begins to reign.

115.—He comes to the help of Taurida against the Tauro-Scythians.

— Ctenus, or Eupatoria, (*Inkermann*), built by Diophantes, his general.

81.—Parysades, King of Bosporus, resigns his throne to Mithridates, who rules over Taurida.

70.—Sarmatians migrate to Scandinavia, under Odin.

63.—Death of Mithridates.

— Taurida becomes subject to the Romans.

47.—Victory over Pharnaces by Julius Cæsar. *Veni, vidi, vici.*

A. D.

62.—The Alains invade Taurida.

250—268.—The Goths enter Taurida, seize Bosphorus, and thence ravage Asia.

280.—Christianity spreads in the Crimea. Some Christians in Taurida suffer martyrdom.

292.—Sarmatians seize Panticapæum, and are defeated by the Chersonites.

320.—The Chersonites defeat the Goths on the Danube, at the summons of Constantine the Great.

376—450.—The Huns overrun Taurida; the Goths are driven to the mountains.

464.—The Huns fail on the death of Attila.

536—548.—Justinian strengthens Cherson, Kaffa, and Alushta against the Utrigures and Cutrigures of the Hun family.

679.—The Chazares subjugate Taurida, a large portion of which is called *Chazaria*.

695.—Cherson the prison of Justinian II.

840.—Chazaria, and the Greek towns, with Gothie, formed into one province by Theophilus; of which Cherson is the capital.

858.—Cyril sent as a Missionary to convert the Chazares, at their own request.

894—1050.—The Petschénégues enter and possess Taurida, driving out the Chazares.

988.—Vladimir, Grand Duke of Russia, takes Cherson, and is baptized there.

1050—1227.—The Comanes possess themselves of Taurida.

1070.—Rise of Sudak as a commercial town, the capital of Soldaya.

— The Genoese commence intercourse with Taurida.

1100.—Jealousy between Sudak, Kaffa, and Cherson. Cherson begins to decline.

A. D.

- 1207—1227.—Genghis Khan's victories in the East.
- 1201.—Genoese settle at Kaffa, and the Venetians at Azoff.
- 1237.—Bathi, grandson of Genghis Khan, at the head of the Mogul Tartars, subjugates the tribe of Kiptschak, and overruns Taurida.
- Krim is made the capital of the Moguls, and the Peninsula is named *Crimea*.
- 1237—1423.—The Crimea under the sovereignty of the Khans of Kiptschak.
- 1300—1400.—The Goths and other Christians cruelly persecuted by the Mahometan Tartars. *The Goths are gradually extinguished.*
- 1350.—Cherson abandoned. Doros (*Inkermann*) becomes the capital of a principality called Theodorie.
- 1352.—Victory of the Genoese over the Greeks and Venetians. (See *Gibbon*, Ch. lxiii.)
- 1360.—The Genoese at the height of their power. Kaffa grows in magnificence.
- 1381.—War of Chioggia. Genoa begins to decline. (See *Hallam's Middle Ages*, Ch. iii. Part 2.)
- 1363.—The Genoese seize Sudak.
- 1380.—Gothie ceded to them by the Tartars.
- 1390—1396.—Tamerlane ravages the Ukraine, and subdues the tribe of Kiptschak.
- 1395.—Tamerlane plunders Azoff, and attacks Kaffa.
- 1423.—Devlet Gueraï, the first of that dynasty, Khan of the Crimea.
- 1433.—The Genoese seize Balaclava.
- 1453.—Constantinople taken by Mahomet II.
- 1469.—Mengély Gueraï succeeds to the throne of the Crimea.
- 1475.—Kaffa taken by the Turks, and the Genoese power destroyed.

A. D.

1478.—The kingdom of the Crimea established by Mahomet II. The Khan a vassal of the Porte.

N.B. *In this state the kingdom lasted until seized by Russia in 1783. During this period there were forty Khans on the throne.*

About 1500.—Baktchi-serai made the capital of the Crimea.

1571.—Moscow destroyed by Devlet Gueraï, Khan.

1587—1608.—Gazi Gueraï (the tenth of the race), one of the best Khans, reigns. Moscow again besieged.

1671—1704.—Selim Gueraï (the twentieth), the greatest of the Khans, on the throne.

1683.—Siege of Vienna, raised by John Sobieski.

1688.—A Russian army attacks Perecop, and is repulsed.

1736.—The Crimea overrun by a Russian army under Marshal Munich. Baktchi-serai pillaged.

1737.—The Crimea again invaded by Russians under Marshal Lascy.

1771.—Two Russian armies devastate the Crimea under Dolgorouki.

1771—1774.—Contests between the Porte and Russia, respecting rival Khans.

1774.—Treaty of Kainardji.

1776.—Fresh contests and intrigues. Sahim Gueraï supported by the Russians.

1777.—Russian army slays 7,000 Turks at Balaclava.

— Massacre of nobles at Karasu-bazaar.

1783.—Sahim Gueraï (the fortieth and last Khan), abdicates, and cedes the Crimea to Catharine II. of Russia.

AN HISTORICAL
SKETCH OF THE CRIMEA.

PROBABLY no instance can be found of such a sudden transition from obscurity to celebrity, as has befallen the Crimea within the period of a few months. Less than two years back, and no name could have been mentioned that would have excited so little concern; and now no spot on the globe engages the anxious thoughts of so large a portion, I may say, of mankind, as this small peninsula. And this interest is the growth, as it were, of a night; it has sprung, in a moment, into a terrible manhood. Nor is it a transitory, ephemeral fame that it has rushed into. It will endure. Balaclava, Inkermann, Sebastopol,—names, two of them unknown probably to all, and the other

but little known to any but politicians and geographers,—have obtained a world-wide and a world-long repute. Deeds have been done there which will be chronicled in the world's history, and form the theme for almost school-boy declamation in all ages.

And yet the obscurity from which it has emerged was not owing to its being destitute of historic associations and recollections of the deepest interest. On the contrary, the land is literally scarred with the foot-prints of bygone events. No country, I believe, could present a series of vicissitudes so varied, so continuous. All the great nations of historic times have left on its surface traces of their power. Not for its own sake, but for the sake of other interests, it has been compelled to be the arena or witness of vast conflicts and antagonisms, under which it has groaned and suffered. One of its towns was the capital of a considerable kingdom, and was at one time embellished with the richest treasures of ancient art; another acquired the title of the birth-place of the Russian Church. Two great nations, the offspring of the barbaric

period, after perishing in other lands, here lingered as in their last asylum, and then expired. Its waters have been swept by the most renowned fleets that have ever commanded the sea. Its hills have been the refuge of the oppressed; its valleys the scenes of terrible slaughter; its plains the resting-place of every savage horde in its migration from east to west. And this changeful fate has followed it up to the present time without intermission, and now it is gathering to itself a fresh and more lasting celebrity.

But two questions at once present themselves upon this statement:—

How happened it that a country so small, and seemingly insignificant, should have been the scene, not casually, but by a certain necessity and fatality, of so many historical catastrophes?

And how happened it that, having witnessed and suffered so much, its name and history should have been so little known to the world?

For the answer to the first question we must refer to its geographical position. Observe the

place of the Crimea in the map, and we are led to ask, Is it north, or south? Is it east, or west? not, of course, by the compass, but mapped according to the social life of man, and the great families of nations. It is border land. Conflicting climates, physical conditions, and tribes, have ever pressed upon it, on every side. Regard it north and south. It stands midway between the rigours and barbarism of the north and the warmth and civilization of the south. This is one key to its history. Here, in ancient days, the rude wandering Scythian from the steppe came into contact with the soft Asiatic and the lettered Greek; here too, in modern times, the Hun or Tartar disputed the ground with the adventurous Italian; for here the domain of the one ended, and that of the other began; and, curiously enough, as I shall presently point out, the separating line was distinctly marked on the face of the country, by that mountain barrier crossing the country at its south, separating the desolate steppe from the balmy luxuriant coast, and dividing the land, as it were, into two zones.

Regard it, again, east and west. It lies on the very borders of Europe and Asia; for, even from the days of Herodotus up to a very recent date, the boundary formed by the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the Palus Mæotis, the Tanais, (now the Straits of Yenikale, the Sea of Azoff, the Don,) was the assumed line of demarcation between the two continents. Hence the Crimea was subject to the influences of the European and the Oriental, who met and mingled on its soil. Here, as at their separate outposts, the Western and the Eastern were brought face to face. The costly treasures borne in caravans from China and India found on the Euxine their natural outlet, and passed from the hands of Asiatic to Greek; a fact embodied, probably, by the imaginative genius of the Greeks in the fable of the Golden Fleece, and the Argonautic expedition to Colchis on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea.

Herein lay the causes that made it the point of concourse, and of conflicting passions and interests, to mankind. And if we inquire further, how it came to attain to so little emi-

nence, and leave so scant a memorial behind it, the cause is to be found in this ; that, after all, it was but a battle field ; it had but little intrinsic excellence of its own ; it was but the prey of contending nations, the spoil of the strong and the forfeiture of the weak. It never had a substantive and independent existence ; had no indigenous inhabitants ; was the fatherland of none. Each tribe or race settled there as it could, and remained as long as it could, and then made way for others. And even the colonies that were formed, or the semblance of a kingdom that latterly was established, leaned, for strength, upon external help ; and, throughout its history, we shall see the inhabitants in their normal state of feebleness always appealing to some stronger neighbour for aid, against impending danger.

So that, though the scene of many and varied deeds, it no more acquired from them a greatness of its own, than does the sea, which is the highway of all but the home of none ; over which many things, fraught with all the elements of shame or glory, pass, but none take

root; and whose fame, therefore, is as unstable as its waves.

And these very same conditions of its existence have impressed upon this land another characteristic, which will be illustrated in its annals. It is the great variety with which itself, its inhabitants, and its history are chequered. It is a land of contrasts and anomalies. There is hardly anything consistent and uniform in it. It is made up of discrepancies and incongruities; some feature, *e. g.* is admired as highly interesting, picturesque, striking, but it is as different from what lies next beside it, either in space or in time, as we can imagine. In its physical condition there is no harmony or uniformity, as I shall point out; in its history there is no continuous life. In the former it resembles rather a collection of heterogeneous plants, than a native woodland; in the latter, it suggests the idea of a heap of disconnected links, and not a continuous chain. The natives of opposite climes and habits have settled side by side in strange disharmony, the colonist or merchant decorating the coast with the refine-

ments of southern luxuries, while behind him the Scythian or wandering Tartar has maintained his nomad habits, pitching his tent and pasturing his herds of sheep or horses in the outstretched steppe, as if he were hundreds of miles from the reach of civilized life. It is just this diversity that strikes the traveller now. He meets with the sweepings of nations. He sees a motley group of inhabitants from all surrounding countries, turbaned, fur-capped, hatted, or veiled; in robe, jacket, sheepskin, or coat, walking the same street; sometimes a picturesque Tartar town, with its mixed Byzantine and Chinese architecture, deep circular-headed windows, grey historic walls, tapering and decorated minaret, or its feudal and castellated fort, side by side with some miserable Russian modernism of a whitewashed town; all proclaiming the incongruous fate and varied fortunes that cling, like a nemesis, to this interesting but unfortunate peninsula.

But it is time to turn to the facts that will illustrate these reflections.

The *Crimea*, as it is now called,—the *Tauric Chersonese*, or *Taurida*, as it was called in ancient days,—in shape resembling an irregular lozenge, is projected into the Euxine or Black Sea, as the Morea is into the Mediterranean. From the narrow neck of land on the north (the isthmus of Perecop, by which it is attached to the mainland), to Sebastopol on the south, is 130 miles, and its breadth to Kertch about 140. The whole area contains about 10,000 square miles, which makes it larger than the Morea, which has only 9,000, and considerably larger than the whole of the principality of North and South Wales, which contains under 7,500. The population of the Crimea is very scanty, amounting to about 200,000, one-half of whom are Tartars, the other half Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Russians. This number gives 20 to each square mile; a small proportion, when we consider that the average population of Great Britain is 204 to the square mile, and of the whole of Europe, 63.

As I have already remarked, the physical face of the country is divided into two very

distinct, though unequal, districts; the first occupying about nine-tenths of the surface on the north, and consisting of an uncultivated steppe or prairie-land; the latter consisting of a strongly-marked mountainous belt on the south, rising at the south-west corner at Balacava, and stretching along the coast, in a north-east direction, for about 100 miles, to Kaffa, and reaching inland with an average breadth of from 12 to 20 miles. Now, physical geography will teach us that the natural features and conditions of a country will very largely determine, or at least modify, the character and fortunes of its inhabitants; and if so, it could hardly happen that it should be otherwise in this case.

I have prepared you to expect that we shall find it thus to be. In truth, this southern range of mountains has stood as a barrier between the civilized and uncivilized life of the South and North of Europe; as if the two streams had here met and thrown up a rocky bar between them, or as if their surging waters, breaking upon each other in collision, had been suddenly

indurated and petrified into a mountainous barricade.

The steppe, which occupies all the northern portion, is a vast uncultivated plain, about 120 feet above the level of the sea, covered with luxuriant, though coarse, herbage, slightly undulating, but not broken into hills, and destitute of trees. This Crimean steppe forms only a part of that continuous range of similar plain which reaches from Hungary, along the north of the Caspian Sea, through Independent Tartary, Thibet, and Mongolia, even to China, a distance of some 5,000 miles. "Countless herds of cattle roam over these noble pasture-grounds, on which a calf born at the foot of the great Chinese wall might eat his way along, till he arrived, a well-fattened ox, on the banks of the Dniester, prepared to figure with advantage in the Odessa market."¹

Such a country is clearly suited only for a nomad or pastoral race, since it is unfitted for agriculture, and has but few attractions to attach the tenants of it to a particular spot. Hence

¹ Kohl, p. 466.

the wandering, unsettled habits of those vast hordes of Mongol, Calmuck, and Crim Tartars, endless tribes, that have successively inundated the south and west of Asia and Europe; not bringing with them the peaceful habits with which we are apt to associate the pastoral life, but war in its fiercest and most tumultuous aspect. Of these I shall have to say more presently. Such pastoral habits, at least, still cling to the inhabitants scattered over the Crimean steppe. No large town marks its surface, but only scattered villages of sunburnt brick. The men are given, as of yore, to the breeding of cattle and horses; the women are occupied in making cloth. Still the Tartar of the north retains his Mongolian caste of countenance,—high cheek-bones, wide eyes, and flat nose. The horse is his favourite animal, from which he is scarcely ever separate, and which he sits as if he formed a part of the animal. Thus he gallops across the steppe, with his fur cap, striped jacket, loose trowsers, and sashed waist, from which the bright ponderous handle of his dagger protrudes, with the same free air as

when he crossed with the Golden Horde from his native Mongolia.

But all this is changed immediately you approach the mountainous range, on the border of which you first meet the larger towns of Karasu-bazaar, Simpheropol, and Baktchi-serai. There the symptoms of civilized life, the exercise of trades, the cultivation of tobacco, flax, and garden produce appear, and the very features of the Tartar begin to disappear. The inhabitants are of a mixed race. But cross the mountains, and although one or two Tartar villages appear, still, with the changed climate and produce of the soil, the character of the Tartar is gone. He lives, indeed, in his hut, cut into the side of the ravine or hill, but he is out of his element. His blood is mixed with that of the Genoese or the Greek; he has lost his native freedom, and gained only an Italian cunning. In truth, immigrants from the south are the true occupants of *this* district. Here they have settled, and carried on their commercial enterprises, and, in the ravines, have cultivated the plants and fruits of the Mediterranean.

Here, from age to age, they have erected their barrier against their northern barbarian neighbours. This is the true historical district, in which, for the most part, are gathered the relics and the records of past Greek or Italian dominion.

Therefore, after this necessary sketch, I turn now to the history of this unhappy and distracted land ; and perhaps a clearer idea of the course I propose to pursue may be obtained, if I divide my subject into separate periods, introducing into each those salient historical features that distinguish it. These periods will be—

- I. The Fabulous period.
- II. The Greek and Roman period.
- III. The Barbaric period.
- IV. The Genoese period.
- V. The period of the Khans of Little Tartary.

I.

THE FABULOUS PERIOD.

THE earliest reliable authority speaks of the Taurida as having been originally inhabited by two races, the Tauri and the Cimmerians; the Tauri occupying the west and north, the Cimmerians the east. It is doubted which were the first occupants of the soil, and, indeed, to what particular families of the human race the latter of these tribes is to be apportioned. The Tauri were of Scythian extraction; but with regard to the Cimmerians, some ethnologists have been anxious to identify them with the Celtic race of the Kymri, and hence to claim them as the lineal ancestors of the Welsh. The most recent researches, however, into the subject discredit such a statement.¹

The name of Cimmerian is probably much more familiar to us than that of the contiguous Tauri, and the associations connected with it

¹ Latham. "Man and his Migrations."

represent the ideas of horror and gloom with which the first Greeks invested those northern shores, which they deemed to touch on the regions of perpetual darkness and the gloomy realms of Erebus. Those ideas were caught from the great father of Epic poetry,

“ The blind old man from Chios’ rocky isle,”

who incorporated in his immortal poems all the geography known in his day, and whose description of this region is thus feebly translated by Pope :—

“ There, in a lonely land and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
The sun ne’er views the uncomfortable seats
When radiant he advances or retreats.
Unhappy race ! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.”

Odyss. xi. 14.

Whatever difficulty may attend the geography of Homer, there can be but little doubt that the Crimea was before his mental eye when he described Cimmeria, the neighbouring cannibals, and the one-eyed monsters, the tradition of whose existence in Scythia was

strong, 500 years later, and finds its place in the narrative of the father of Greek history. From the Phœnician merchants, as they fled from these inhospitable coasts at the approach of winter, he heard of the tempests that swept over the sea, the impenetrable fogs, and frequent shipwrecks, of the eight months' gloom of winter, and of hordes inaccessible to pity, who were a terror to the mariner, and whose character was shortly and not pleasantly summed up by the Greek geographer,¹ some 1000 years later, as being "murderers of strangers, cannibals, and using skulls for their drinking cups." From them too he heard of that land-locked bay, which travellers identify with the little port of Balaclava, poetically called by the ancients, *Boreæ antrum*, "the cavern of Boreas," and which he thus depicted:—

" Within a long recess a bay there lies,
Edged round with cliffs, high pointing to the skies;
The jutting shores that dwell on either side
Contract its mouth, and break the rushing tide,

¹ Strabo.

Our eager sailors seize the fair retreat,
And bound within the port their crowded fleet :
For here retired the sinking billows sleep,
And smiling calmness silvers o'er the deep."

Odyss. i. 101—108.

And yet the bright fancy of the Greeks made this dismal coast the scene of one of the most beautiful of its many tales. The rugged cliff between Sebastopol and Balaclava is the scene of that touching tale of the friendship of Pylades and Orestes, which forms the subject of one of Euripides' tragedies, "The Iphigenia in Tauris," and has been reproduced in almost every civilized tongue.

Whatever may have been the actual truth or fiction involved in the tale, there was at least signified by it, as Gibbon remarks, the humanizing influence of Greek intercourse on the Scythian barbarians of the Crimea. While the Athenians, in their beautiful and glorious city, melted at the tale of their poet, and while the Chersonites at a later period erected a temple, called the Oresteum, on the cliff which was the supposed site of Diana's temple, the moral of the tale was not lost for centuries among the

Scythians, but the inviolability of friendship was ever observed by them with religious fidelity. The poet Ovid heard the story from the lips of a Sarmatian; and the Oresteum with its frescoes, representing the affecting contest of the two friends, was standing in the days of Lucian.¹ It was near that spot now occupied by the monastery of St. George, on the promontory of the same name, between the English and the French camps; and many a traveller has visited, with almost the reverence of devotion, that spot whose tradition has consecrated one of the best sympathies of the human heart, and exercised so great an influence on the civilized life of nations.

II.

THE GREEK AND ROMAN PERIOD.

But time wore on: the adventurous spirit of the Greeks soon tested the fabled horrors of these blood-stained shores; and with the record of their deeds we pass from the region of

¹ Lucian lived A. D. 90—180.

legend to that of history. Very early the commercial spirit of the Greek colonists—like that of our own countrymen—gained a footing on those dreaded coasts. Emigrants from Miletus, an Ionian colony on the Asian coast, first founded (B.C. 750) a settlement on the eastern part of the peninsula, and fixed the site of two flourishing towns, Panticapæum, (or Kertch,) and Theodosia, (or Kaffa,) on that projecting neck of land which afterwards constituted the kingdom of Bosphorus.

The intercourse between the Crimea and the South from this time rapidly increased.

That wonderful century of illumination, (the 6th B.C.) which saw Thales, the father of Grecian philosophy, flourish at Miletus, Solon at Athens, Confucius in China, saw also Anacharsis the Scythian arise in Taurida, to light the lamp of civilization for his nation. The fact that he was born of a Greek mother proves the intercourse that existed between the two countries. His abode at Athens (B.C. 592), and friendship with Solon; his assassination, on his return home, for his partiality to the sacred

mysteries of Greece, and the popular reverence paid to his memory, could not fail to keep alive a sympathy with Greece. At a later period, the invasion of Darius the Mede (B.C. 508) accustomed the minds of his subjects to the Scythian coasts and Scythian manners. Immediately after this event, another band of emigrants started from Heraclea in Bithynia, and founded the next most famous colony in the Crimea, on that fateful peninsula at the western extremity, on which the allied armies are now encamped, and which is connected with the mainland by the valley of the Tchernaya, which runs from Inkermann to Balaclava.

No piece of land in the world has been so frequently and so desperately disputed as this strip of barren rock, by so many and such varied combatants.

Here was founded the Greek town of Cherson, on the easternmost point, now called Cape Chersonese,—while the whole neck of land, from the double circumstance of its form and of its occupants, was called the Heracleotic Chersonese.

Another indication of advancing change, and of dawning civilization, presents itself in the alteration made about this time in the name of that sea which washes the Crimea.

Hitherto it had been known to the Greek mariner by the name of the Pontus *Axenus*, or the Inhospitable Sea. Now it assumes a fresh aspect and title, and is called Pontus *Euxinus*, or Hospitable Sea.

Why this change? It is curious to reflect. Did it arise from the polished sensibility or superstitious timidity of the Greeks, which was wont to repress all words of ill-omen; as, when speaking of those dread beings the Furies, they always addressed them as the "Eumenides," (the benevolent,) or the "Semnai," (the venerable) goddesses, as if by these bland euphemisms they bespoke their good favour, and propitiated their dreaded vengeance? Or had it a less spiritual origin? Was it that when Greek enterprise had planted its colonies along the shores, towards which it naturally desired to attract the richly laden vessels that swept the Ægean Sea, it was feared lest a title so ill-

omened, suggestive of shipwreck and cannibalism, should frighten away the sensitive spirit of commerce; and that thus commercial prudence stamped the highway that led to these harbours with a name of more hopeful import? If so, it will find a parallel in the feeling which transformed the Cape of Storms into the Cape of Good Hope; or,—to come nearer home, even to our own metropolis,—in the laudable self-respect which led the prospering inhabitants of a neighbourhood to change the uncouth name of Grub Street into Milton Street, and the uncleanly title of Foul Lane into the royal designation of York Street.

However this may be, the poet Ovid, when banished to its bleak shores, indulged his unmanly despondency in petulantly complaining of the name of the Euxine, as if it was a piece of geographical imposture, and no doubt would have been gratified by the modern veracity which restored to the sea its rightful title of the Black Sea, and thus did due honour to the dark storms and Cimmerian mists that infest it.

With the year 480 B.C. history opens upon us, and shows us the kingdom of Bosphorus under a settled dynasty of kings, called the Archæanactidæ, and the small republic of Cherson flourishing in trade; but the two settlements looked on one another with a jealous eye, and were watched with some greedy feelings by their barbarous neighbours.

The kingdom of Bosphorus stretched along that fertile line of coast already pointed out, from Kertch to Kaffa, a distance of about seventy miles. It was in close amity with Athens, the mistress of the sea, and indeed was the granary of that nation, sending yearly into the harbours of Attica 410,000 medimni, or about 60,000 quarters of wheat from its fertile plains. The country was well known to the Athenian merchants; and its localities are frequently referred to in the pleadings in the Athenian courts of law. The grandmother of Demosthenes was a native of the country, of Scythian extraction, as the great orator's jealous rival Æschines did not fail to remind him. Leucon, one of its kings, was in extreme favour with the republic,

on account of his having granted free trade to the Athenians; and Demosthenes adds that this king and his sons were admitted to the freedom of the city. One of the Bosporians being elected to a high civic office, and having to make a speech, to which he did not feel himself equal, wrote to his son at Athens to get the needful done for him in that eloquent city. The son applies to the great orator Isocrates, who complies with the request. And other services of friendly aid were mutually rendered by the two states.

But both the small kingdom of Bosporus and the still smaller republic of Cherson were too feeble and too prosperous to enjoy repose. And it was on these points of the Crimea that the aggressive violence of the barbarous tribes, which have never ceased to harass and prey upon the colonies of the southern coast, began to make itself felt.

From the first ages, the extensive plains lying to the north of the Crimea, and stretching eastward throughout the breadth of Asia, were the abode of countless hordes, which were known to

the ancients by the common name of Scythians. These tribes inhabited the vast steppe of which Mount Altai forms the centre, and which may be reckoned the birth-place of the populations which successively burst down on the regions of the south.

It was not till the second or third century of the Christian era that the migration of nations occurred by which the West was overrun; and therefore it will not be desirable to speak of the tribes by which it was effected until I arrive at that period. Still, from the earliest ages, this rolling restless tide of human beings was in motion, and from time to time sending down its superabundant population, to overflow the sunny valleys of Europe. Even before the period I am speaking of, two, if not three invasions of these roving Scythians had taken place; in one of which they had expelled the Cimmerians from the Crimea and followed them in their flight into Asia (B.C. 634); and while the latter took possession of Sardis, the former poured downwards as far as Judæa and Ascalon, which fell a prey to their fury.

The predatory and aggressive tendencies of these unpleasant neighbours were felt by the small communities of Greek colonists in the Crimea. The charms of civilized life attracted these fierce-eyed warriors. At this period (B.C. 300—200), the Scythians who dwelt in the northern steppe of the peninsula had forced themselves down on the Tauri of the south, and formed a mixed race of Tauro-Scythians in the mountainous ridge along the coast. These constantly attacked and spoiled the rising colony of the Heracleotes in Cherson, who maintained themselves by commerce with their parent state and other provinces on the south of the Euxine. The same race cast an envious eye on the maritime prosperity of Theodosia; and, under their King Scylurus, after having seized this town, they threatened the kingdom of Bosphorus on the east. On the other side of the narrow Cimmerian Strait there lay another formidable foe. There dwelt the tribe of Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians (the lizard-eyed, so called from the sinister and fierce expression of their eye), whose wandering, plundering habits, shaggy

beards, uncombed locks, and furs, with which they were covered from head to foot, inspired the civilized Greek colonists with dread.

So great was the power gained by this barbarous tribe, that they even disposed of the throne of Bosphorus at a period of intestine trouble (B.C. 380); and these increasing aggressions brought a great actor on the scene, the most distinguished man who ever figured on these shores.

That actor was Mithridates, king of Pontus, "a king," says Cicero, "the greatest, next to Alexander the Great,"—"a man," says another writer,¹ "of whom it is equally difficult either to speak or to be silent. In war most vigorous; in valour peerless; superior to everything, sometimes in fortune, always in spirit; in counsel, a general; in action, a soldier; a very Hannibal in his hatred to Rome." For sixty years he governed Pontus, and for thirty waged war with the mistress of the world, and measured his strength with three of her greatest generals, Lucullus, Sylla, and Pompey. He

¹ Vell. Patereulus, lib. iii. c. 18.

subdued twenty-four provinces, spoke twenty-two languages, excelled in all bodily exercises, riding, wrestling, and racing, and, like that grotesque prince, Olaf Trygvæson of Sweden, the Christian Samson, delighted in challenging all comers to a trial of personal strength and prowess. He was fond of learning, wrote several treatises on medicine, and was the discoverer of that antidote against poison still known by the name of Mithridate. Of inexhaustible resources, he was disconcerted by no defeats, and was only inspired by them with fresh courage and new expedients. Boundless in ambition and avarice, he was a monster of cruelty. He poisoned a successful antagonist in a chariot race, murdered his mother, sister, and wives, and two sons, whom he had made kings of Cappadocia and Colchis; and, strange to say, a list of these several atrocities was found carefully registered by him in his treasure-house. So great was his wealth, that when Pompey took the garrison of Apsis (B.C. 66), where his treasures were concealed, he was able to distribute a sum equal to two or three millions of

our money to his soldiers, made himself the richest citizen of Rome, and deposited three millions more in the public treasury.

Such was the man who was brought into contact with the feeble king of Bosphorus ; with what result we can easily guess.

Amongst the magnificent dreams of conquest encouraged by Mithridates, the chief was, like a second Hannibal, to invade Rome from the north. Early in his career he proposed to turn the Euxine Sea on the east, subdue the barbarous tribes, traverse what was till recently called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, Lombardy, and so fall on Rome, torn as it was by domestic factions. A magnificent and daring conception,—one which presented itself afterwards to a spirit no less hardy, but more controlled than his, that of Julius Cæsar ; but it was frustrated by his death. Mithridates had even entered upon the expedition, and had won over several of the Scythian tribes, especially the Sarmatians, when, by a conjuncture of good fortune, entreaties were sent to him

from the small republic of Cherson and from Bosphorus, for protection against the Tauro-Scythians. Too glad to accept such a protectorate, the first step to usurpation and sovereignty, he forthwith equipped two armies (B.C. 115), under his generals Diophantes and Neoptolemus, to rid the Crimea of these troublers. Diophantes attacked the Scythians near Palakion (now called Baktchi-serai), and easily defeated 50,000 ill-armed savages with 60,000 trained troops of Asia. He then established a strong fort where Inkermann now stands, the ruins of which still remain, and which he called Ctenos or Eupatoria, in honour of Mithridates, who was surnamed Eupator. Thence he ran a fortified wall along the valley of the Tchernaya to Balaclava, the site then, as it has been frequently since, of desperate and valiant encounters. Neoptolemus met the Scythian fleet coming out of Theodosia, destroyed it, and, at the same time, defeated the land forces on the ice at the Straits of Bosphorus or Kertch.

The result of a strong will and towering ambition, brought into contact with a feeble

mind, soon showed itself. Parysades, the king of Bosphorus, abdicated (B.C. 81); Mithridates seized the throne, and became master of the Crimea. He made Panticapæum (Kertch) his capital, where he established his son as viceroy; and for a brief period that small town had a place and name amongst the great thrones of earth.

These things were not unobserved by the great mistress of the world. The Roman eagles soon flew to the rescue. An account of this enterprise was demanded, and haughtily refused by Mithridates, and hence arose the thirty years' war so famous in the most famous period of Rome's history. When Mithridates recrossed the Euxine to meet the Roman generals in Asia, he took the precaution of transplanting a colony of the Sarmatian tribes most favourable to him, to serve as a barrier against the restless Tauro-Scythians, and as a guard upon the fickle Bosphorians.

His defeat by Lucullus soon followed (B. C. 71), on which occasion, escaping barely with his life, he sent a hasty summons to the Sar-

matians to come to his aid. And at this point of the Crimean history occurs one of those events, which can scarcely happen except in the youth of nations, but which are full of moral grandeur; the tradition of which, while it is accepted by ordinary historians, is not wholly discredited by the great historian of Rome's decline and fall, who was too much disposed to sneer at credulity to be himself its victim, and too distrustful of the virtues of human nature to find pleasure in any of its sentiment.

It is said that the Sarmatians, experiencing the tyranny of Mithridates and apprehending that of Rome, formed (B. C. 70), under Odin their chief, the hardy and spirited resolution of at once quitting a land so dangerous to their independence, and seeking a home of freedom in the regions of the North. Believing themselves under the Divine guidance, they traversed the breadth of Europe, from the Euxine to the Baltic, crossing mountains and rivers, until in the fastnesses of Scandinavia they fixed their abode; and, cherishing in their war-songs the recollection of their hardships and the passion

for revenge, they thence issued, three centuries later, under the name of Goths, to chastise the proud mistress of the world.

But to return to Mithridates.

Flying from the victorious Pompey, who had seized his stronghold in Pontus, he retired to his capital in Bosphorus. With incredible energy, at seventy-two years of age, he made a desperate effort to rouse his army to repair his fortunes. They refuse. Pharnaces, his favourite son, heads the mutiny, compels his father to shut himself up in Panticapæum, and has himself crowned by the soldiery, under the very walls and within sight of the palace. The old man, wrung by the treachery of his son, and dreading to be led a captive through the streets of Rome at the chariot-wheels of Pompey, soon took his resolution. After sending a few bitter and reproachful words to his son, he gathered his wives and daughters in a chamber of the palace, and there shared with them the deadly cup. But the draught had no power over him (they say, owing to his frequent use of antidotes to poison); he then pierced himself in many

places ; still without effect ; till at last, he bade a Gaulish soldier of his guard to do the work of death upon him.

The fate of the Crimea was changed with his death, and I hasten to conclude the Roman period of its history.

It was declared by Pompey to be under the suzerainty of Rome, and to form part of the empire.

As for Cherson, that republic, not meddling in Asiatic politics, and, therefore, not exciting the jealousy of Rome,—relieved too from the oppression it had experienced from the kings of Pontus (the mother country),—more securely, also, protected than before from the incursions of barbarians, grew in prosperity. To this latter cause, perhaps, it was owing that, about this time, the site of its chief town was removed from the small promontory on the extreme south-west further inwards, towards what is now the harbour of Sebastopol, and occupied the ground just above the quarantine harbour. The ruins of the old town were visible to the geographer Strabo shortly before the Christian era. In

conformity with its everchanging destiny, the village and fort of Eupatoria took the name of Pompeiopolis, from the name of the conqueror; only, however, to change it again and again, under the Goths and under the Tartars. During the reign of the first Roman emperors it attracted but little notice; but in proof of the vigour and spirit which it fostered, two events deserve to be noticed.

In the reign of Diocletian (A.D. 292), the old enemies of the Crimea and of Bosporus, the Sarmatians, crossed the Cimmerian Strait, and seized Panticapæum. Constantius, the father of Constantine, orders the Chersonites to repel the barbarians beyond the limits of the empire. They immediately issue forth, and, in a battle near Kaffa, render this signal service to their imperial mistress.

Again, in the reign of Constantine the Great (circ. 320), the terrible Goths cross the Danube, and threaten the Roman provinces; and once more, under Dionysius the Protevon,¹ or President of the state, a considerable army is raised,

¹ From the Greek *πρωτεύων*.

which, issuing from the Crimea, intrepidly falls on the barbarians, and the boundaries of the empire are relieved. For this service, Constantine honours the republic with rare distinctions. He gives them a golden statue of himself to decorate their town. He confers rich presents on the chief magistrate and senators. The state is perpetually exempted from all dues and imposts in the Black Sea; and a regular supply of corn, wine, oil, iron, and other articles requisite for peace or war, are promised. And here, for the present, we leave the republic.

As for Bosphorus, its fate was far different. The wretched parricide, Pharnaces, was rewarded for his crime with the throne of that kingdom. After a time, when the Roman legions had retired from Asia, seized with the presumptuous hope of recovering his father's possessions in Pontus and Bithynia, he invades those provinces of Rome. But a spirit and a genius greater than any that had yet dug the iron heel of Rome into the neck of Asia, was on the alert. Julius Cæsar, with the sixth legion, had entered Syria from Egypt. The

rumour of this insane attempt reached him, and with incredible celerity he hurried across Asia, (B.C. 47), literally sprang upon Pharnaces and his army near Ziela, and in four hours drove him flying back to Bosporus.¹ It was on this occasion that, in a letter to the senate, he announced this fruit of his energy, genius, and power, in that message of telegraphic brevity, *Veni, vidi, vici*. As for Pharnaces, on reaching Bosporus, he found an aspirant to the throne ready to contest it with him, and was slain in battle.

Thenceforth the kingdom rapidly declined. It soon became a prey to the barbarous tribes whose occupation of the Crimea will be described hereafter. The race of inhabitants degenerated. The Sarmatians seized the throne and ruled under the name of Sauromatæ. At the same period (A.D. 62), the western portion of the territory fell into the hands, first of the tribe of Alains, then of the Goths. Even the little republic of Cherson defeated the Bosporians in more than one battle; till, in A.D. 376, the

¹ Sueton. Cæs. Vit. c. 35.

invasion of a far more terrible enemy, the Huns, inflicted a final blow on this ill-fated kingdom. It shared from that time the same lot as other territories overrun by barbarians; it never revived; and the very name of the kingdom of Bosphorus disappears from history. Theodosia, indeed, its second chief town, rose, in after ages, into great importance by the commercial energy of the Genoese. But Panticapæum sunk hopelessly. During the 1400 years that elapsed between its fall as a capital and its cession to Russia in 1771, it was occupied by chance settlers from the various races that happened successively to be the strongest, the Huns, the Chazares, or Circassians,¹ the Venetians, or Greeks, who carried on their trade as slave-dealers, or as fishermen, or exporters of salt. Russia has endeavoured to renew the decayed prosperity of the town, but it has been at the sacrifice of localities more favourable to the commerce of the Black Sea, and in neglect of that law which seems to forbid

¹ Under the Circassians it took its modern name of Kertch, which is only a corruption of the Tartar form of the word Circassia.

that either cities or nations, when once fallen, should ever recover their former glory.

At the beginning of the present century, "about a hundred houses existed, inhabited by Greeks."¹ It now contains about 10,000 inhabitants, in a modernized town on the edge of the plain from which rise the many mounds which formed the tombs of its early lords, and are the only monuments of its former greatness. Beyond it, westward, lies a tract of utter desolation. Yet that tract once waved with golden harvests, and poured its rich produce into the Athenian harbours; and nothing but the honest toil and industry of man are needed to make them flourish so again; for to some wheat cultivated here was awarded the prize at our Great Exhibition. But agriculture is abhorrent to the nature of the vagrant Tartar; and the Russian Slave brings with him scarcely greater civilization. These ancient mounds, though pillaged again and again for their supposed treasures, form the great attraction to the traveller. Sometimes simply of earth, sometimes

¹ Clarke's Travels.

cased with unhewn blocks of cyclopean work, testifying to their remote antiquity, they formed either the sepulchre or the treasure-house of the great. One, called Mithridates' Hill, is the supposed spot whence that great monarch was wont to inspect his armies and his fleets. From others, antiquarian spoils, vases, chains, armlets, have been taken to decorate the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. One, prominent above the rest, bears the name of the "Hill of Gold," from a tradition of the vast treasures that were thence extracted, and of its having been the burial-place of Mithridates. So affecting are the associations of departed greatness, especially when its records are in the chambers of the dead, that when the rugged Russian general Suvarroff, "albeit unused to the melting mood," was led to this spot, he fell on his knees and wept.

It is with such feelings that we may take our leave of this interesting place, and proceed to contemplate a similar fate more or less realized in other portions of the Crimea during its subsequent eventful revolutions.

III.

THE BARBARIC PERIOD.

That which I have named the Barbaric period was felt to be such not merely by the small country whose fortunes I am tracing, but by the whole of the then known world. It may be said to have lasted about 1,100 years, from the second to the thirteenth centuries; and during that period Europe, thitherto so civilized, became wholly disorganized and broken up into its primal elements.

I have already referred to the extensive plain, intersected occasionally by mountain ridges, rivers, and inland seas, which stretches from the Don to the Japan Sea, as the great storehouse of humankind. In times of ignorance this whole mass of barbarism was denominated Scythian, and the descents of some of its lesser tribes into the Crimea have been mentioned.

But it was not from this quarter that the first irruption of strange races was felt in the South of Europe and in the Taurida. Those

who first attract attention are the Goths. History first finds them in the countries either washed or encompassed by the Baltic, in Sweden, Norway, and Prussia. Although in their disastrous devastations they resembled the Scythian hordes, it still appears¹ that, from the influence either of climate, traditional customs, or religion, they differed widely from these latter in their habits as well as their forms. The Goths were of large stature, lived in huts or fixed dwelling-places, were habited in a close-fitting dress, were armed with a short sword and buckler, abhorred polygamy, and made their military expeditions on foot. They were not averse even to maritime pursuits. Yet in one point the German coincided with the Scythian, viz. in his dislike, perhaps contempt, of agricultural pursuits. Tracing their origin up to Odin, whom their Sagas celebrated as a demi-god, and history has named "the Mahomet of the North," they received from him a fierce and martial religion; and in their savage inroad on the South they were animated as much by the

¹ Gibbon.

promise of sharing the feast of heroes in the Hall of Odin, as by the prospect of plunder in the conquered cities of their enemies.

The date of their earliest inroad with which I have to do, lies in the first half of the third century. About this time (A.D. 215) they descended the Borysthenes, now the Dnieper, and, entering by Perecop, overran the Crimea. The feeble tribe of the Alains yielded before them. Directing their course eastward, they seize the territory of Bosporus, and the coast of the Cimmerian Strait. At Theodosia they find the rude fleet of the Bosporians, flat-bottomed boats, covered with a slanting roof, and calculated only for coast navigation; yet with these they conceive the hardy enterprise of ravaging the opposite shores of Asia. In three successive expeditions, they assault the richest cities of Pontus and Bithynia, lade themselves with the spoils of Trebizond, then pass the Hellespont, and plunder the Asiatic towns, from whence they advance to Athens, spreading terror and desolation. Under their rude violence (A.D. 262) perished the sumptuous

temple of Diana, which was celebrated as one of the seven wonders of the world, and had kindled the enthusiasm of the opponents of St. Paul. It is said to have been destroyed seven times, and each time to have risen again with greater splendour than before;—kings had vied with each other in contributing to its embellishment, and its 127 columns were the gifts of as many monarchs. Eight of its pillars of green jasper still support the cupola of the Aya Sofia at Constantinople. We are sometimes tempted to mourn at the thought of the overthrow of such gorgeous monuments of wealth and of art by those brute hordes; but surely a Providence was guiding them; and in the ruin of this stronghold of paganism we see a token that the destined hour was come of that old superstition, whose knell was struck by its downfall.

To return to the Crimea. At this period the republic of Cherson was enjoying unusual prosperity; its wall protected it from the barbarians, and it was strong enough to defy the threats of the neighbouring mixed race of Greeks and

Sarmatians in Bosphorus. The Goths appear to have settled in the mountains, reaping the fruits of these southern raids.

But a century later a new and a more formidable foe arrived. The terrible Huns (A.D. 376) from the East, of purely Scythian blood, of uncouth form and strange habits, were hastening westward across the steppe, like bloodhounds on the scent, or, like birds of prey flocking to the dead carcase of Roman grandeur; and the Crimea lay in their route.

The terror inspired by these fresh hordes far surpassed what had been felt before at the Goths. It is enough to say that the Goths themselves trembled at them. Even to them they were utterly strange and monstrous. They were purely nomad or pastoral, dwelling in tents, wandering like flights of locusts wherever choice or hope allured them, clad in loose fur or sheepskin, and living on horseback. In appearance they were singularly hideous, with long head, tanned skin, narrow small eyes, flat nose, no beard, huge chest and shoulders, and dwarfed form; they were compared to

uncouth animals walking awkwardly on their hind legs, and were regarded as some monstrous birth or portent of nature. They were warriors of the reddest hue, whose only object of worship was a sword fixed, blade upwards, in the ground, the symbol of the God of War, which was bathed periodically with the blood of human and other victims. Their daily habits corresponded with all this savagery. Their attachment to the horse was, as it still is of the Tartar tribes, their passion. The horse was their companion, defender, shelter, food, and victim. Their drink was mares' milk, and had been from the days of Homer.¹ Their food was horse-flesh; their tents were made of horse-skin. The horse's tail was the trophy of victory, the standard of war, and the badge of authority. By his many or few tails the Pasha still calculates his rank; and they hang suspended from the canopy of the Sultan's throne, as the symbol of royalty.

A swarm of these uncouth animals was enough to disturb the refined ease of the luxurious Romans. They advanced in two

¹ ἱππημολγῶν γλακτοφάγων. II. xiii. 5.

divisions—the White Huns stopped beyond the Caspian Sea; the second troop passed onwards to the Volga and Don, whence a portion of them (for they numbered some hundreds of thousands) descended into the Crimea. Their invasion, which lasted for seventy or eighty years, was directed latterly by the most terrible of all the barbarians, Attila, “the Scourge of God.”

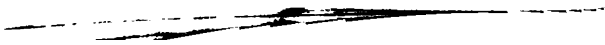
I pass by the desolations caused by this monarch, whose ambition was to make himself terrible. Yet with many of the passions that deform human nature, he was gifted with some brilliant qualities. Implacable towards his enemies, and insatiable of plunder, he was yet just and kind to his subjects, and lived with no superfluous pomp or luxury. He never oppressed those who submitted to him, and consequently the Crimea felt the benefit of his more tolerant rule.

The Goths, however, had to yield before this storm, and retired to some of those almost inaccessible fastnesses fortified by nature, which in all times have been an asylum for the per-

secuted. Of this kind was a flat-headed mountain called Sinap-Dagh, which caused that portion of the Goths to be called Trapezites, from *τράπεζα* (trapeza) a table. Another retreat was a wild insulated rock, still known by the name of Mangout-Kalé, the last syllable of the former word retaining the trace of its Gothic origin. Vast masses of broken fragments with grey "leafy walls, where ruin greenly dwells," standing or strewn on the surface and sides of a scarped hill, mark the spot where the Goths, for probably a thousand years, defended themselves against their barbarian invaders. It was the capital of a principality afterwards called Gothie, and in early times had its bishop. In truth, the readiness with which this tribe embraced Christianity, and suffered for it, sets it, in our regard, far above many others, such as the Huns, or Tartars, who were capable only of either remaining pagan, or becoming Mahometan. And this old ruin is full of Christian memorials. The cells and chambers cut into the face of the rock, and reached only by a descent

of giddy steps, formed the retreats of this persecuted race. A chapel, too, may still be traced, scooped out of the solid stone ; and, in the time of Professor Pallas, half a century ago, it still exhibited Christian symbols and images of saints painted on its walls. At a later period it was occupied by Karaite Jews, whose ruined synagogue and desolate cemetery are found hard by. But though utterly deserted, the spot forms one of the most interesting monuments in the Crimea, and is unconsciously regarded even by the Tartars with the profoundest veneration.

To the same period partly, and to the same purpose, must be assigned those remarkable cavities in the rock at Inkermann, which are so frequently mentioned. The whole side of the hill is pierced and honeycombed by them. Inkermann, as you are aware, bears from them its name, "the city of caves." Upon the top of the cliff stand the ruins of that old fortress formerly built by the general of Mithridates, and called by him Ctenos, or Eupatoria ; then it assumed the name Pompeiopolis, then Doros,



finally, Inkermann; thus registering the rule of its successive lords. It is not improbable that, according to Eastern practice,—evidences of which are found plentifully in Judæa, at Petra, and on the shores of the Red Sea,—the original inhabitants, the Tauroscythians, made their abodes in some of these natural caverns. But the cells, galleries, and chapels which now abound, and bear the marks of considerable artistic design and taste, prove them to have been the resort of persecuted Christians, or of monks during the Byzantine period; both classes of occupants seeking here a safe asylum from a dreaded foe, either the relentless invader, or the still more inexorable world.

But I must return from this digression. Pressed by the fierce Huns, both Goths and Chersonites had recourse to that dangerous expedient so constantly practised by the Crimean inhabitants, of calling in foreign aid. A nation that cannot ordinarily protect itself, is not fit to be one; it is certain, at least, that it must be a slave. They applied (A.D. 548) to Justinian, the Emperor of the East, for protec-

tion. It was indeed but a vain call. The empire was itself weak, oppressed by its provinces, and in no part weaker than in its capital. The Emperor replied only by strengthening the wall at Cherson, building forts at Alushta, and a citadel at Kaffa—remains of the two latter existing at the present day.

It would be tedious and utterly perplexing, even to name the various tribes that successively gained a temporary footing in the Crimea during this period of disorder. The power of the Huns fell with the death of Attila; the horde was broken up and dispersed. Two or three fragments of it, for a century or two, lingered in the Crimea, but these were expelled about the year A.D. 679, by a more considerable tribe named the Chazares, who had already gained renown on the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper, and even as far southward as the iron gates of Derbend, and whose protracted influence in the Crimea deserves a more particular notice.

But in order to understand the part they

played, it is needful to turn for a moment to the fortunes of the small state of Cherson.

That republic, governed by its Protevons, and engaged in a not very extensive commerce, was under the sovereignty of the Emperors of the East. It was the most distant settlement northward—an outward barrier against barbarism—and, therefore, was used as a kind of Botany Bay for state criminals, who were banished to this extreme edge of civilization, where the commonest luxuries of life, corn, wine, and oil, needed to be imported. Here, in A.D. 685, one of the most bloodthirsty and degraded princes of that degraded empire found himself an exile and confined in a monastery. This was Justinian II., who as signally dishonoured by his crimes the name he bore, as its first owner had rendered it illustrious by his wisdom. Uniting the worst qualities of Charles II., James II. and Judge Jeffries,—dissolute, tyrannical, savage,—he compelled a rebellion by his insupportable cruelties, and was justly seized, and too mercifully sent, with a mutilated face (whence

he received the name of *Rhinotmete*), to cool his blood amid the barren rocks of the Chersonese. The Chersonites were not well pleased with so odious a guest, whose vices seemed to luxuriate the more from his opportunities for tyranny being lopped off. As the exiled monarch was plotting a return to Constantinople, information of his design was given by the Chersonites to the reigning Emperor, and a summary process would have been resorted to, to prevent its execution. But Justinian was on the alert. He made his escape, threw himself into the hands of the Chazares—among whom hospitality was the most sacred of duties—engaged their interest in his behalf, married the daughter of the khan, and returned suddenly to Constantinople, vowing the most bitter vengeance against the unhappy Chersonites. An expedition (A.D. 711) was at once fitted out, Cherson attacked, and men, women, and children brutally massacred. The ship bearing some of the choicer victims back, to feast the vengeance of the tyrant by special tortures, foundered and was lost. A second expedition

was therefore despatched. But, meanwhile, the Chersonites, true to their weak policy, had called in the Chazares to their aid; and, to his honour, the khan came at once to rescue them from the malice of his own son-in-law. The Chersonites withstood the siege directed against their town; they even threatened to carry the war to Constantinople. The wretched monarch, passing from fury to cowardice, pleaded in his own behalf. But it was too late. The small republic sent to Constantinople a popular governor, who was proclaimed Emperor, and the too merciful sword of the executioner ended the life and the crimes of the hateful Justinian.

But the result of this intervention by the Chazares was what might have been expected. They were like the Jutes invited to England—they seized the dominion of those they succoured, and so widely did they extend it, that from this period, for about six centuries, a large part of the peninsula bore the name of Chazaria. It was not until about the year 1300, when the Mogul Tartars fixed their capital at Krim, that the territory assumed the

name of Crimea, which it has borne ever since.

The political state of the Crimea in this, the eighth century, may be thus described. The Chazares occupied the country generally; while certain districts on the coast, such as Cherson, Gothie, and the eastern portion, called Zichie, and occupied by Greek colonists, owned allegiance to the Greek Emperor, but paid, nevertheless, tribute to the khan of Chazaria. But, in A.D. 840, the Emperor Theophilus abolished the republic of Cherson, and erected all the Greek towns on the coast into a province, of which Cherson was the capital, under a prætor sent from the metropolis; so that whatever little independence they had before, then wholly disappeared.

The subjects of the khan of the Chazares were curiously divided, at this period, in their religion, between Paganism, Judaism, and Mahometanism. In their migration, they had come in contact with the two latter forms of faith; and it appears that at one time the converts to Judaism were very numerous. But

in the ninth century (A.D. 858), the khan sent an embassy to the emperor (Michel III.), praying that Christian missionaries might be sent to instruct his people. The fact deserves our notice, not merely on its own account, but because the man selected by the Greek Patriarch for the mission was none other than the celebrated Cyril; who, after having completed this work of mercy, became, with his brother Methodius, the Apostle of Bulgaria and Moravia, manfully resisted the pretensions of Rome, and planted the seed of the Greek Church throughout Russian Europe. Of his labours in the Crimea no record remains, beyond the fact that the whole nation was converted; and at that time—it was, indeed, but a brief space—the inhabitants of the Crimea were all, what they never were before or have been since, Christians. And therefore I may be pardoned if I take this occasion of pausing for a moment, and shortly sketching the previous fortunes of Christianity in the peninsula.

It is an instructive circumstance that the Christianity of but a very few nations can be

traced to the apostolic labours of any individual. In most cases, it seems to have been planted by an invisible hand, and to have grown up, men know not how. And in most nations of the North, where the populations were unsettled, its earlier life was subject to great vicissitudes; its light was wavering, flickering, and sometimes, for a season, wholly extinguished. It was so in the Crimea, just as it was in Great Britain; for the one country in this respect is almost a counterpart of the other. An interesting tradition records that Clement, Bishop of Rome at the end of the first century, was banished by Trajan to Cherson, and that he was confined and doomed to labour in the quarries of Inkermann. When Cyril was sent, as I have related, to the Chazares, the Bishop of Cherson searched for the body, found it, and soon after sent it to the metropolitan church of Kieff, on the Dnieper; and other relics were carried to Rome in A.D. 867. History names the Sarmatians, who possessed a large portion of the Crimea, as being Christians at the end of the second century. Still, it was among the Goths

that Christianity took deepest root, and this early and wonderfully. In their invasions, during the third century, these warriors bore away many prisoners from Asia to their northern strongholds, and among them the parents of one who bore afterwards the mixed Greek and Gothic name of Ulphilas. The constancy and sanctity of life of these Christian captives, had already won their rugged masters to the faith. But Ulphilas (A.D. 260—320) devoted himself from his early youth to the conversion of his new compatriots. Having been well instructed by his parents, he reduced the tongue of the Goths to a written language (a kind of service so often rendered by missionaries), and translated into it the sacred Scriptures. Portions of this wonderful work are still preserved, traced in the Runic character. He became the bishop of that barbarous tribe. In the persecution of Valens and his successors, which soon followed, (A.D. 260—290,) the Crimea had its martyrs; and the settled organization of the Church is proved by the fact that the Bishop of Bosporus sat at the Council

of Nice. But the pagan Huns, like the Saxons in England, overspread the land, driving the Goths to their caves and dens, as the British Christians were forced to the Welsh mountains. The sympathy of the great St. Chrysostom, however, was awakened in their behalf, and he sent over some missionaries to them (circ. A.D. 380), consecrated a new Bishop of Bosphorus, and built a church at Constantinople, for service in the Gothic tongue. Subsequently, the invasion of the Chazares, like the ravages of the Danes in Britain, drove in the Christian community, once more, upon its centre; but this time the captives took the captors; a bishop of the Goths, named John, was taken prisoner (A.D. 756); and after a time we find these new lords of the Crimea welcoming evangelic truth from the lips of the saintly Cyril. The lamp then lighted was, indeed, afterwards wholly extinguished by Mahometan fanaticism and persecution; still it must be said that in that land the Gospel has been "preached for a witness."

But to resume the narrative. During the

ninth and tenth centuries, fresh tribes from the North, amongst whom the Russ became prominent, constantly threatened the provinces of the empire on the left bank of the Danube; and they even entered, though with no permanent results, the Crimea. Still, as before, the mountainous ridge of the south, occupied by mixed populations of Greeks and Goths, and now by Chazares, formed a barrier to their incursions; and Cherson, faithful to the Greek Emperor, was soon made the scapegoat of imperial faithlessness. Pressed by these hordes, the Emperors (Basil II. and Constance IX.) had recourse to that worst of expedients, buying them off by gifts and promises. But the promises were not fulfilled; hence a spirit of constant hostility and reprisal was kept alive. The Russian dukedom had devolved, in A.D. 972, upon Vladimir, who has justly obtained the title of the "Solomon," the "Apostle," of Russia. Resolved to right himself, this great chieftain considered where he might most advantageously strike his blow. While he deliberated, other influences were brought to bear upon him,

which gave a direction to his counsels. He had observed how rapidly the barbarous hordes improved on shaking off their heathenish superstitions, and especially on their reception of the Christian faith; and he resolved to inquire into its reasonableness and truth. He was at the time in Bulgaria, the inhabitants of which were Mahometans. Some of these immediately pressed upon him the claims of the Arabian prophet. Curiously enough, some of the Chazares, who were near, presented to him, at the same time, the sacred Scriptures of the Jews, whose faith they had embraced. A Greek missionary also set before him, in graphic and touching representations, the sublime verities of the Redeemer. Solicited from all these three quarters, the Grand Duke,—moved partly, perhaps, by political motives,—after consulting his boyards, resolved to send ambassadors to Constantinople, to ascertain what the Christian faith had to offer. The deputies, received honourably by the Emperors, were commended to the Patriarch, who invited them to witness the gorgeous service in the splendid cathedral of St. Sophia. As may

be supposed, the solemn ritual, the rich vestures, the dazzling lights reflected a thousand times from the glittering marbles, the varied and moving chants, and all the ceremonial which was then observed, at once overpowered the rude ambassadors, who represented to their monarch what they deemed the unearthly glory and enchantment of the scene they had witnessed.

Vladimir decided at once on attaching himself to the Greek Church ; and considered where, with the greatest dignity to himself, he could receive the rite of Baptism. The recollection of unfulfilled engagements still rested on his mind ; and therefore, anxious to signalize his baptism by some ovation, he determined to lay siege first to the unhappy Cherson. In A.D. 988 the harbour of Sebastopol saw the troops and ships of the Russian chieftain enter its straits, and the former moored in front of what is now called the Quarantine bay. But, as if in early augury of its powers of defence, the town offered a more desperate and protracted resistance than he had expected. His besieging works were under-

mined, and his assaults repulsed. After many failures to take the town, when solicited to raise the siege, he vowed that he would stay there three years rather than not succeed. Yet, foiled he must have been, had not a treacherous monk within the city—(his name, reserved for execration, was Anastasius)—shot an arrow into the hostile camp with information of certain underground aqueducts which supplied the town from the east with water. Vladimir lost no time in cutting off these channels, and the town was forced to capitulate. He received the city as a gift of God, celebrated his victory by being baptized and married, and in token of his clemency and thankfulness he at once restored the town to the Emperor. On the heights overhanging the quarantine harbour, among the ruins of Cherson, still stand the remains of the Church of Vladimir, probably marking the very spot where the Russian chieftain received the seal of his Christian adoption. The tribe soon followed the example of their monarch; Kieff was erected into a metropolitan city, and the Russian Church, tracing thus its birth to Cherson, was

for 700 years in filial dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The migration westward still continued up to the arrival of the Mogul Tartars in 1237. Following the law that ruled them, the successive families of the Hunnish stock displaced each one the other that had preceded it. Thus, by the tenth century, the Petschénégues had supplanted the Chazares in the Crimea: and they in their turn were forced to yield before the Comanes in the eleventh. Of these tribes little needs to be said; but the latter requires to be named, because, under its rule, that enterprising power of the West, the ambitious Genoa, was first permitted to obtain a footing in the peninsula, where by degrees it acquired that arbitrary and unscrupulous sway which it maintained for 300 years over the towns and principalities of the southern coast.

gems, and spices, and discharged them at Tana (Azoff), Trebizond, and Phasis, to be thence transported to Constantinople, which thus took the place of Alexandria in the commerce of Europe.

The Crimea felt early the impulse of this rising spirit, and trade began to develop itself on its southern coast.

Hitherto Cherson had almost monopolized the Asiatic traffic; but from the year A.D. 1070 two formidable rivals sprang up, in the towns of Sudak and Kaffa, which were occupied by Greek adventurers, and threatened to absorb its commerce.

In vain the Chersonites appeal for protection to the Greek Emperor. He was either unwilling or too feeble to grant it. The discontented republic rebelled, and brought more trouble upon itself, until, about the year 1201, not only the Greek traders, but the rival powers of Venice and Genoa, had fairly settled on the shores of the Crimea and the Sea of Azoff. From that time that ancient republic, so full of interest if not of glory, maintained only a lingering exist-

ence, which was closed a hundred and fifty years later.

What a series of glorious recollections, what visions of princely splendour and adventurous energy are summoned before the mind by the mention of those two ambitious and powerful republics, seated like two queens on the Adriatic and Tuscan seas, whose fleets swept the Mediterranean Sea, and left traces of their contest or of their sovereignty on all its shores!

The traffic of the Black Sea now fomented their bitterest quarrels; for the trade of the East was at stake, and they both applied themselves to secure the patronage and protection of the Emperor of the East.

It is impossible to do more than glance at the stirring events that are crowded in the space of the succeeding 300 years. The result of the fourth Crusade, in 1198, in which France and Venice, and they alone, participated, left the throne of Constantinople at the disposal of the Latins. Venice, in strict alliance with that line of monarchs, was at once

put in possession of the port of Azoff, where its factories immediately sprang up. Genoa, with a more daring genius, but a less noble spirit than her rival, founded at the same time (A.D. 1201) a small colony in the noble bay of Kaffa, but with such modest pretensions as to create no apprehension. War had not yet been waged between the two rivals, and although the latter viewed with jealousy the prosperous colonies of Azoff and Krim, yet the trouble she experienced from the plundering habits of the barbarians forbade its breaking out.

The spirit of commerce has, I fear, ever proved grasping and unscrupulous. Cruelty lies close by the side of avarice, as hatred does of lust. And the Genoese soon desperately exemplified this moral law. The Greek Emperors, banished from Constantinople, had their capital at Nicæa, and the Genoese merchants, taught by the example of Venice, aimed at a restoration of the dethroned dynasty. A revolution was soon fomented, by which, in 1261, Michael Palæologus was reinstated in the capital of his prede-

cessors. The rival of Venice now commanded the authority of the emperor, and quickly and unsparingly she used it.

At Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, to the north of the Golden Horn, whose curved bay, laden with the riches of the world, suggested the allusion to the symbolical horn of plenty, the Genoese raised their factories and houses of trade. These they shortly afterwards enlarged and fortified, till it became a question, whether the Genoese or Greeks were to be masters of Constantinople.

The same spirit of usurpation manifested itself towards the ruler of the Crimea. He was a Mahometan, and had granted permission to the Soudan of Egypt to share in the traffic of the Christian slaves of Circassia, to recruit his troop of Mamelukes. The Genoese claimed the sole right of this unholy traffic, and hostilities commenced in consequence.

Then, too, Kaffa rose to extraordinary magnificence. The Tartars smiled at the ramparts, and batteries, and towers, which they saw belting the town, and called them the

strangers' folly. There was meaning in those walls notwithstanding, as they soon found.

At the bottom of the splendid bay, opening to the south-east, backed by commanding hills, with a roadstead in which 100 vessels could ride in safety, the city itself rose bright with decorated houses, terraces, and Italian gardens. It was called the "Lesser Constantinople,"—the second "Genoa the Proud." It was in fact a Genoese principality, though nominally tributary to the Tartar khans. In the pride of wealth, a Genoese merchant insults a Tartar in the market; the insult is resented with a blow; in an instant the Damascus blade is drawn and the Tartar slain. A tumult and a combat ensue, many Tartars are massacred, and the Genoese are ordered (A. D. 1343) by the khan to evacuate the town and port. They simply refuse, and defy their liege lords. Kaffa is besieged, but in vain. The earthen ramparts and stone walls are found to be not wholly a vast folly. The Genoese seize the occasion to treat the country as that of an enemy. They ravage the coasts, make descents on its

ports, Alushta and Sudak, and forbid the navigation of the seas to foreign vessels. The Genoese commandant, Boccanegra, condescends to accept terms from the khan, Djanibeg, and for the moment peace is restored.

"The Adriatic for the Venetians, the Black Sea for the Genoese," is now openly proclaimed by the latter; and they proceed to enforce the ambitious pretension. Some Venetian vessels are seized and confiscated. (A.D. 1344.) Enlarged territory is demanded at Pera, and refused by the Emperor Cantacuzene. Immediately the faubourg is fired, the Byzantine vessels are captured, and the shores of the Sea of Marmora wasted by these insolent merchants. Venice is summoned to the Emperor's aid,—and then was fought, (1352,) under the walls of Constantinople, that famous naval battle, which set Genoa on the pinnacle of its greatness in the Black Sea. Well might the great historian,¹ to whose pages I must refer you for a brilliant narrative of the conflict, remark on the issue, "The Roman Empire might soon

¹ Gibbon, ch. xiii.

have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power."— Her power at home was on the wane. Still for the moment success only increased her pride. On her demand, no Venetian galley was permitted in the Black Sea; no vessel was allowed to visit Cherson; the flourishing town of Sudak, the emporium of Greek merchants, and capital of the province of Soldaya, was attacked and taken (1363); the principality of Gothie was acquired by treaty with the Tartars (1380), who had cruelly persecuted its inhabitants; the right of veto on the election of any khan was extorted; Latin bishops were placed at Sudak and Kaffa, in insulting defiance of the Greek Emperor; and (1433) Balaclava not long after was added to her possessions.

I have rapidly sketched a period of 250 years; and now the supremacy of Genoa began to pass away. The war of Chioggia with Venice (1381)—for the very interesting account of which I refer you to another eminent historian¹—

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ch. iii. part 2.

fixed the decline of her power; and the moment was at hand when, in stern retribution, all her possessions in the Crimea were to be wrested from her. But as that catastrophe produced a revolution in the peninsula, I must gather up the thread of its internal history, before relating the details of that event.

I have already spoken of the tribe of Comanes as occupants of the Crimea, which they retained till the year 1227. It appears that they were neither oppressive nor jealous in the exercise of their sovereignty over the provinces on the coast. But ten years later (1237), a fresh swarm, part of the famous Golden Horde, crossed the Volga and the Don, under Bathi, the grandson of the renowned Zinghis Khan, the chief of the Mogul Tartars. These strangers were of a different metal. In addition to all their Tartar fierceness and barbarous habits, they had acquired the military fanaticism and fatalistic energy with which the reception of the Mahometan faith inspires its votaries. They ravaged the country of the Cossacks, Little Tartary, occupied by the tribe of Kiptschak,

and Poland, and "the Latin world was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility." The sovereignty of the peninsula was, however, disputed by a large influx of the tribe of Kiptschak, just mentioned, who held an independent dominion in it for 200 years. The inhabitants of the coast were distributed into three principalities. Cherson, after above 1800 years' duration, having disappeared, Inkermann, with the name of Doros, became the capital of Theodorie; the Greek town of Sudak was the metropolis of Soldaya; and Mangout of Gothie. The fanatic intolerance of these new barbarians was impatient of the Christians of the south. Kaffa and Sudak could defend themselves, but upon the Goths of Theodorie and Gothie persecution fell with a long and lingering torture. It was but in mockery that their princes were ostensibly left to them. They were forced, at the point of the sword, to conform to the laws and accept the creed of the Koran. This was a death-blow to the Goths, the most ancient and the most noble of those tribes which laid the foundations of the modern kingdoms in Europe.

Justice has not yet been done to the history of this tribe in the Crimea, traces of whose power are preserved in the ruins of Mangout, and, it is said, in some of the words of the southern Tartar tongue. But they now disappeared, the last remnant in Europe of that powerful race which overthrew the Western Empire and made the East to tremble. After overrunning Asia, they became the masters of Italy, founded the throne of Spain, and possessed themselves of some of the fairest provinces of France. It is remarkable that they never founded a distinct kingdom; but their monuments have survived their material power. These are found in many of the laws and customs of European nations, and especially in that feudal system which is still so closely intertwined with our civil institutions, and is the offspring of their genius. They were the earliest of those migratory races to embrace Christianity, and theirs was the first language beyond the pale of the classic tongues into which the Sacred Scriptures were translated. Without attributing to their conceptions that magnificent ecclesiastical architecture which

bears their name, the very assignment of that title bears testimony to the depth and richness of the religious sentiment with which they were supposed to be imbued. And it was a shame to Genoa, and suggests to us how her commercial avarice must have eaten out of her every nobler impulse and more generous sympathy, when with her proud galleys, and armed forts, and munitions of war, she sat by unmoved, while the remnant of that great nation, peaceable, civilized, Christian, was persecuted by its Mahometan invaders, and doomed either to apostasy or extermination; nay more, when in their distress she bargained for the territory of Gothie, and acquired the vineyard of Naboth from the hands of Jezebel.

And there, on the edge of Europe, we quit the last footprints of the Goths: we leave their inheritance in the possession of the Genoese, and proceed shortly to trace the speedy retribution which overtook these their ungenerous neighbours.

The power of the Genoese was beginning visibly to fail; while their overbearing conduct

towards the Tartars and other occupants of the Crimea kept them in a state of nearly constant hostility. But domestic discord weakened the Moguls, and, at the close of the fourteenth century (1370), the ingratitude of Toctamish, the sovereign prince of Kiptschak, whose rule extended over the Crimea and the Ukraine, drew upon him the terrible vengeance of Timur or Tamerlane.

The Crimea did not escape the fury of the storm. On Timur's return from routing his enemy, deputies from Venice and Genoa hastened to propitiate the conqueror on the banks of the Don, and to avert any nearer approach to their settlements. But perhaps the awakened curiosity of the great chieftain led him to visit Azoff, which he speedily destroyed and pillaged. (A.D. 1395.) Passing on to Kaffa, he assaulted the town by sea and land. But the valour of the Genoese governor, Zoaglio, (and want of daring and resolution were never among the faults of the republic,) saved the town, and the invader was forced to retire.

With the death of Toctamish the sovereignty

of the Crimea passed from his tribe, and the grandson of Timur was placed on its precarious throne. A period of conflict and confusion ensued, which it is neither easy nor necessary to elucidate, until, in 1423, we find the sovereign rule conferred upon a Mogul prince, a descendant of the royal house of Zinghis Khan, by whose race it was uninterruptedly held, down to the time of its final overthrow by the Empress Catharine of Russia.

The name of this prince was Devlet Guerai; the latter of these names being the distinguishing title of the Khans of the Crimea for all succeeding generations, and deriving its origin from a soubriquet given to this first prince from his constant repetition of the word "guerai," which means, in Lithuanian, "well;" in the same manner as the French in the Polynesian islands have acquired the name of "Oui-ouis," from their frequent reiteration of that affirmative monosyllable.

The capital of the khans at this period was at the town of Krim, not far from Kaffa, and the peninsula thenceforward received the name

of Krimea. The neighbourhood of the Genoese caused the selection of the place ; and it is a proof of the power of those merchant-princes, that the khans found it their interest to secure their favour, and to protect their trade. Yet this did not ensure peace ; on the contrary, several sanguinary and barbarous conflicts took place ; and a blackened cave, strewn with human bones and skulls, is now shown on the precipitous sides of the highest mountain, called Tchatir Dag (the Tent mountain),—the cave of Foul Kouba,*—in which a party of Genoese were smoked to death. In a war with Devlet Guerai, in 1461, the son of that khan was taken prisoner, kept as a hostage, and carefully educated. Eight years after, on the death of his father, he mounted the throne, when we hear of him again.

But, meanwhile, great events had occurred, which speedily changed the whole fortunes of the Crimea.

In 1453 the catastrophe, which had been so long anticipated and dreaded, had taken place.

* Oliphant. *Russian Shores of the Black Sea*, p. 224.

The great and ambitious Mohammed II. had attacked and taken the ancient seat of the Cæsars—Constantinople. The Crescent supplanted the Cross on St. Sophia. That event is related with such eloquence by the great historian, whose pages are so charming, yet so painful, to read, that I can do no more than refer you to them for the narrative.

One circumstance must be mentioned. Justiniani, the Governor of the Genoese, who still held Pera, defended that part of the city heroically. He was desperately wounded, the Emperor Constantine was killed, and the city fell. The proud conqueror, flushed with the capture of two capitals, had already taken possession of the Byzantine throne, when the Genoese presumptuously declared war against him. It was mere madness, for so unequal were they to their own defence in the Black Sea, that they were shortly compelled to mortgage their possessions at Kaffa, and their other settlements, to a famous commercial company of those days, somewhat resembling our East India Company, and called the Bank of St. George; and at the

very same time the republic, through its reverses at home, had been obliged to place itself under the protection of the Duke of Milan. The challenge, therefore, might have passed unnoticed ; but, at this conjuncture, the oppressions and violence of the Genoese had raised up against them a conspiracy among the Mogul Tartars in the Crimea. A contest concerning the election of a prefect of Kaffa, from whom the Genoese governor had withheld his confirmation, caused the league to be formed. The khan, Mengély Guerai, son of the last prince, and now (1475) elevated unjustly to the throne by the aid of the Genoese, protected his former guardians, and fell under the odium of his subjects. Deputies from the Tartar Assembly,—for they still had a form of convention called the “*Courollai*,”—were sent to solicit the interference of Mohammed, and to offer him the kingdom. It chanced that a fleet of the Sultan was lying at that moment in the harbour, equipped to invade the island of Candia ; but its destination was soon changed. Twenty thousand chosen troops under Achmet Pasha at once

appeared before Kaffa. The siege was not long. An Armenian happened to be the Governor, and he traitorously surrendered the city of his guardianship to the enemy. It was a dastardly act, and met its due recompense. Notwithstanding its surrender, the city was given over to pillage, and unmerited vengeance wreaked upon all its inhabitants. The people were disarmed, and a heavy fine of 20,000 ducats exacted. Forty thousand Genoese were sent to Constantinople, which was still half a desert; all the slaves were apportioned to the Sultan, and the natives of the place condemned to redeem themselves. To deepen the degradation, 1,500 children were selected, to swell the number of victims in the Seraglio. All the larger houses, the forts, the palaces, churches the most majestic, religious establishments of considerable extent, were razed to the ground, and ships laden with spoil returned to Constantinople.

The Armenians, headed by the traitor Squarciafico, were reserved for a crowning immolation. Eight days after the surrender of the town they were invited to a sumptuous banquet; on retir-

ing from which, down a flight of steps, they were one by one despatched by armed executioners; the traitor was reserved, and transported to Constantinople for more signal and public execution.

Thus fell Kaffa, so rich and beautiful as to be compared to its parent city in the West, and the emporium of Genoese commerce for nearly three centuries. The city was wholly destroyed. It is said that Mohammed wished afterwards to revive its commerce; but, with the Genoese, the spirit that enriched it departed. It was never restored; and out of the forty-four thousand houses the city is said to have contained, less than fifty remained at the beginning of this century.¹

The khan Mengély Gueraï was deported to Constantinople with the Genoese. He was a man of a perfidious and cruel spirit, and fit only to be the tool of a tyrant: so he was spared, reinstated as khan, but only as a vassal of the Porte, and sent back to the Crimea to complete the work of subjugation and devastation. The

¹ Clarke's Travels.

next three years presented only a sickening detail of successive plunderings and murders executed by this wretched barbarian, in his own territory, and upon his own subjects. Even the Genoese, to whom he owed his throne, were not spared. The ancient Krim, the capital of his predecessors, was signalized by his butcheries. The prosperous town of Sudak, with its one hundred churches, was reduced. Cherson was hardly more than a ruin; but BalACLava and Inkermann were seized and destroyed. Kertch, occupied by a few Circassians, fell an easy prey: but a nobler and more courageous resistance was encountered at Mangout Kalé, which had been for centuries the asylum of independence; for the old spirit of the Goths, and the despair of a brave people, animated the Genoese who had taken refuge on its heights. The fastness was besieged; but here, too, at last the Governor proved a traitor; the stronghold was surrendered, and all the Genoese were massacred. A heap of frowning ruins on an impregnable height mark the spot.

A.D. 1478. The Crimea was now reduced;

its harbours were forsaken, and its maritime towns fell into decay. For three hundred years the Black Sea was closed by the Porte against the commerce of the West. During that period what may more strictly be called the kingdom of the Crimea lasted, under the Khans of Little Tartary, and a short sketch of this dynasty will conclude the subject.

V.

KHANS OF THE CRIMEA, OR LITTLE TARTARY.

A.D. 1478. Mengély Gueraï had sworn fealty to the Porte on resuming the throne of the Crimea. It was provided in the compact with Mohammed II., that the khans should be chosen exclusively from among the descendants of Zinghis Khan, which was regarded as a sacred principle of government by the Mogul Tartars. There were, of course, several branches in this descent, so that the Porte was not hampered by a too limited choice when it had purposes of its

own to carry into effect; still the principle was rigidly observed.

The excessive cruelties of Mengély Gueraï had depopulated the Crimea to such an extent, that he was obliged to make war on the neighbouring tribe of Nogay Tartars, occupying the steppe to the north of the peninsula, and to transplant large numbers of them into his own territory. It is this tribe that forms the Tartar population of the Crimea at the present time. They seem to be but a poor thriftless race of the degenerate Tartar stamp, and even to have deteriorated from their former state. They are still nomads on the steppe, wanderers, living in rudely-constructed huts in the summer, in underground holes during the winter; tending their flocks; still given to plunder; for, at the recent valiant repulse of the Russians by the Turks at Eupatoria, you may perhaps have noticed that some of the Tartars flocked, after the engagement, to the scene of strife, stripping the dead, and gratifying their old ineradicable love of horseflesh.

The Moguls soon changed the seat of their

government from Krim,—for no Genoese, no commerce any longer remained to stimulate either their jealousy or their avarice,—to Baktchiserai, “the Palace of Gardens,” a beautiful spot situated in a sequestered dell at the northern base of the mountainous ridge, and about twenty miles north-east of Sebastopol. Here for three centuries they held their court, though with but little state or even dignity. The Seraglio, or palace, consisting of a large group of buildings, was extensive but very irregular; still it is even now striking to the stranger from its “picturesque style of architecture, its carving and gilding, its Arabic and Turkish inscriptions, and fountains of beautiful water in every court.”¹ On one side of the entrance square were the apartments of the khan, of one story high, backed by gardens; on the opposite side, a Mosque with its two regal minarets, and beautiful cemetery; near this, again, the Hall of Justice, with an imposing dome; adjoining to which was a small apartment, accessible to the khan alone, in which he was able, unobserved, to listen to

¹ Heber's MS. Journal, quoted in Clarke's Travels.

the proceedings in Court; and woe to the Cadi-lesker who perverted judgment, or spared the guilty. At the further end of the court, in a garden, surrounded by a high wall, was the Harem, consisting of a few plain and ill-furnished apartments, but with windows screened and trellised with the usual oriental jealousy.

The government of the khans resembled that of the Porte, under which they held. It was rather a monarchy than a despotism strictly so called, being tempered by a perilous responsibility to a set of turbulent nobles or retainers, who were not slow to make their will felt. It resembled, in this respect, the government of Cromwell, awed and threatened by his fanatic soldiery; it had, too, its counterpart in the Sultan's rule, curbed by his Janissaries; and is paralleled even in the present tyranny of the Czar, a despotism "rectified," as has been said, "by assassination." Each khan had his Mufti, or Patriarch; his Vizier, or Prime Minister; his Cadi-lesker, or Chief Justice; his Kalga, or Chancellor, whose residence was at Akmetchet,

now Simpheropol ; his Divan, or General Council. His state could be but poor, as he had no fixed revenue ; and his ordinary resources were supplied from the booty taken in war, and from lands belonging to the Crown ; but no tribute was exacted. When he went to war, each division of villages (Kadilik) was obliged to provide its contingent of horse and armed soldiers, as was the case in other countries under the feudal régime. In one respect the administration of the khans was distinguished above that of the Sultan, and much more above that of the Czar ; viz. in the promptitude and strict equity with which justice was dealt to all ; thus perpetuating the character given by Homer to their Scythian ancestors, as being “ feeders upon mares’ milk, the most just of men.” Each district had a Kadi, or judge, from whom appeal lay to the Divan ; and it speaks rather perhaps for the summariness than the mildness with which the laws were enforced, that no such thing as a prison was found in the peninsula.

That government, its monarchy, and its court, have now ceased to be, never to be

revived, and therefore this passing record of their existence may be pardoned.

It would be impossible to give a detailed sketch of the history and fortunes of the kingdom of Little Tartary in any moderate limits. In truth it must be owned that the Krim Tartars were a very troublesome marauding set, living on plunder, a terror to the neighbouring Poles and Russians, and sometimes mere hirelings to one or the other, and even to the Swedes, under Charles XII. When, in 1694, the Porte issued an order forbidding their freebooting habits, the inhabitants were nearly starved to death. They had no commerce, were almost incapable of really settled life, and were averse, as all Tartars ever were, and perhaps will be, to agriculture; so that their only resource was in the hazards and allurements of war. We can understand that they were considered a social nuisance.

Hence during the 260 years that preceded their fall (A.D. 1520—1780), the Khans of the Crimea took a part in all the agitating wars that desolated Central Europe.

The position held by each of the nations engaged in those conflicts may thus be compendiously summed up.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, had let the Mahometans loose on Europe. Previous to that time, a permanent check had been given to the Saracens in the south; the Poles, Russians, and Hungarians presented a barrier to the Mahometan Tartars in the north; and the Byzantine capital formed the great outwork and rampart against the Turks in the centre. But when this fell, and the power of the Ottoman empire was firmly established in that capital, the keystone of European and Asiatic dominion, a feeling of terror penetrated the western kingdoms of Europe. To stem this torrent of fanatic tyranny was the glorious work of Austria, aided by her allies. At the battle of Lepanto, an Austrian commander effectually curbed the naval power of the Turks, in 1571; and by the two magnanimous defences of Vienna in 1529 and 1683, —at the latter of which the valiant service of John Sobieski, in relieving the Austrian

capital, gained for him the title of "the Saviour of Europe,"—this infidel power was finally restrained, by land, within its own limits. Thus, then, Turkey and Austria, afterwards Russia, and then Sweden, which entered the field, were struggling for ascendancy; the Poles were struggling for existence; the Tartars and Cossacks were struggling for booty. Looking generally at the result of these conflicts, we may say that Austria maintained her dominion; Poland was, after a time, miserably partitioned; the Cossacks and Tartars were absorbed; the Ottoman empire gradually declined, and Russia as regularly grew, till it reached its present gigantic proportions.

In this great settling down of nations whose normal state was war, the Tartar khans, sometimes in aid of their liege lord the Sultan, sometimes on their own account, took part in every possible fray. At one time they were at war with the Cossacks; then, and very constantly, with the Poles; twice they joined the Sultan against Austria, once at the last siege of Vienna; but uniformly, with one exception,

they found their natural, almost necessary, enemies in the Russians. In thirty-one years—from 1577 to 1608—they thrice invaded that empire; and, in the same period, once besieged, and once utterly destroyed, Moscow. But the tide soon turned upon them. Under the constructive genius of Peter the Great, the Russian empire multiplied and consolidated its power, and thenceforward it bore down upon the south with irresistible force. From that time the annexation of the Crimea became the prominent object and unswerving purpose of its princes; four times in forty years, under its two Emperresses,¹ the unhappy country was overrun and devastated by its armies, until it sank under the combined effects of desertion, fraud, and violence, to which I shall have to refer.

It must be owned that this statement places the Tartars and their khans in an unfavourable light. They appear as an unsettled marauding nation, with no domestic resources, or symptoms of progress. They were, indeed, essentially

¹ 1736, 1737, under the Empress Anne; 1771, 1777, under Catharine II.

warlike; and unsettled they could not but be, when we consider the capricious tyranny with which the Sultan exercised the dangerous privilege which had been reserved to him, of nominating the khan. For see the result.

During the three hundred years that the Crimea was subject to this control, *i.e.* from 1478—1783, there were forty khans, whose average reign was therefore only seven and a-half years; of those forty, twenty-four were deposed, several of them more than once, from some intrigue or caprice; three others abdicated; five died a violent death; and nine only died on the throne. It could not be, therefore, but that a spirit of reckless adventure, and of intrigue, should be generated by such a disjointed, uncertain rule, while internal growth and natural organic development were impossible.

Yet the khans were not mere adventurous soldiers, leaders of a barbarous horde. Far from it; many of them were great and noble characters, and deserving of a better fortune.

For example: Gazi Guerai, the tenth khan, who reigned from 1587 to 1608, had in his early

youth been confined a prisoner in Persia, which was to the Turks what Athens was to the Greeks, the seat of learning, distinguished by its philosophers, its arts, its libraries. Like Frederick the Great in subsequent times, the young prince turned his captivity into an occasion of mental discipline, and he left his retreat skilled in all Oriental learning, a poet, and a musician. He is described as just, moderate, generous, and observant of law; and was disposed to foster amongst his subjects the arts and the humanizing influences of peace. But the times were too strong for him. He was driven to war, partly by invasion, partly by the Porte. After chasing a troublesome neighbour from the Ukraine, he besieged Moscow, and then aided the Porte against Rodolph the German Emperor; yet he showed himself as great in war as he might have been beneficent in peace.

Let me take another instance, that of the greatest of all the khans, Selim Gueraï, the twentieth of his race, whose reign extended from 1671 to 1704, so that he was contemporary with

Peter the Great of Russia. So eminent were his abilities, and so keen the jealousy with which he was consequently pursued by the ministers and sycophants of Mohammed IV., that he was deposed three times, abdicated once, and was restored to the throne four times. Yet such was his philosophy, or such the effect of his fatalistic creed, that he bore these caprices of fortune with complete composure, and, what is more, never sought to retaliate upon his enemies. He was a consummate general, a politician of rare keensightedness and tact, firm of purpose, singularly tender, and deeply religious. His first act was to defeat the Poles in a decisive engagement in 1672; and afterwards he was chosen to take part in the siege of Vienna, when he had to yield to the great generalship of John Sobieski. At a later period (1691), in the language of a Russian,¹ and therefore no favourable, writer, "he defeated, in a single campaign, the Austrians, the Poles, and the Russians, saved the standard of religion, and re-established

¹ Striencewitz, Archbishop of Mohileff, quoted by Reuilly, "Histoire de la Crimée."

the tottering throne of the Ottoman empire." In their gratitude and devotion, the Janissaries conspired against the Sultan, and offered Selim the throne of Constantinople; but, true to his oath, the khan firmly refused to accept the prize of treason, and himself quelled the insurrection that had broken out. On the Sultan's offering him any recompense he would name, he asked only permission to make the pilgrimage to the Prophet's tomb at Mecca, a religious service forbidden hitherto to the khans from political jealousy. Having accomplished the journey, he received the title of Hadji, or Saint, which belongs to Mahometans who have performed that meritorious journey. So great was his renown, that the Crimean nobles vowed they would recognise none but his descendants (while any such remained) as their monarch; and this privilege was confirmed to his family by the Porte.

Towards the end of his life his second son rebelled against him, and, raising the standard of war, fled to Circassia. He was seized, and brought back, according to Tartar law, to im-

mediate and ignominious death. On his coming into his father's presence, the old man embraced him tenderly in his arms, and so melted the rebellious temper of his son as to win him back to lasting obedience. This same monarch it was, who, when the eyes of the Sultan Mustapha were fatally closed to the aggressive schemes of Russia, warned him of them, protested against the peace of Carlowitz, and counselled a renewal of the war. When questioned as to the grounds of his apprehensions, he shrewdly replied, that he noticed that Peter was very carefully educating his people; that he had introduced the German régime and tactics into his army; and that he was constructing a fleet at Voronej, on the Don; and that these things disquieted him. He was naturally rewarded for his ill-omened sagacity by being at once deposed.

There are those who doubt whether the Tartars are capable of civilization, and of a settled form of government. It may be, that races of men, like individuals, are incapable of passing at one step from the habits of barbarism to the arts, and industries, and cultivation of

civilized life, and that their physical constitution would break down under the attempt to force such a change upon them. Still we cannot but feel a conviction, that where the elements of civilized life, of great ability of rule, of far-sighted policy, of taste for the arts of peace, are found in monarchs such as those here instanced, (and others might be named,) there must be at least the possibility of a civilized community in their subjects. Yet, at the same time, we cannot but ask, What could a country do, whose rulers were subject to such a tyrannous caprice as these khans suffered at the hands of the degraded Sultans?

But I now hasten to conclude. Under the plea of checking the turbulence of the Tartars, the Empress Anne, in 1736, despatched Marshal Munich with a vast army to invade the Crimea; the fortifications of Perecop, though bravely defended, were forced; villages were given to the flames, and Baktchi-serai remorselessly plundered. The failure of provisions compelled the Russians to retreat: yet, again, the next year, a second army, under Marshal Lascy, passed

down the narrow tongue of Arabat (a well-known entrance into the Crimea, of which, however, a strange ignorance seems recently to have been evinced), and desolated the southern district unavenged.

The Porte was now too weak or too utterly selfish to stand by its faithful vassal, and the end drew nigh.

The same year that Selim Guerai (the thirty-ninth khan and third of that name) came to the throne (A.D. 1771), two Russian armies were poured upon the south. The one threatened Turkey from Moldavia; the other, under Prince Dolgorouki, surnamed the Crimean, entered the peninsula in two divisions, by the isthmus of Perecop and by the tongue of Arabat, thus circumventing and paralysing the devoted kingdom. Arabat and Kaffa were taken; Kertch, and Balaclava, and Belbec, and Kosloff (now Eupatoria) were surrendered; and Selim's submission was accepted on the condition of his two sons being sent as hostages to St. Petersburg. One of these two sons was Sahim Guerai.

It was now but a question of time and perfidy. A pretence was soon found for deposing the father, and placing his son Sahim on the throne. In vain the Porte remonstrated that its prerogative was invaded, and espoused the cause of the deposed khan, who had fled to Constantinople. Russia desired nothing better than this, and defended her own nominee.

The war which followed, and which only had the effect of weakening the Porte and further distracting the Crimea, was brought to a close by the Treaty of Kainardji in 1774, by which Selim was temporarily replaced; the independence of the Crimea declared (that is, the hold of the Porte upon it loosened); the captured (but not the ceded) places were restored; and certain ceremonial privileges were reserved to the Porte.

The story of intrigue and cruelty that followed almost exceeds belief, and surpasses the power to unravel all its intricacies. But thus it is told. An insurrection is fomented by which Selim is expelled, and his son Sahim, the *protégé* of Catharine, is once again set upon the throne.

Was he a traitor to his country, or a weak, vain-glorious sycophant, or a stone-blind dupe? It is hard to determine; but under the influence of Russian emissaries ever at his side, he is encouraged to conform to European manners and customs; and his nobles, with burning indignation, see their weak khan, the descendant of the great Zinghis, ape the dress of European courts, discard his horse and ride in a carriage, sit at his meals, with his table adorned with plate and his apartment furnished with tables and chairs (still preserved in the seraglio); they see troops disciplined after the Russian model, and everything likely to shock the prejudices of a Tartar and a Mahometan ostentatiously paraded.

Perhaps the same Russian influence was scarcely needed to foment an insurrection. Still emissaries were at work to watch their plot to its end. On a retired mountain, with a flat summit, surrounded by precipices so perpendicular that it resembled a stupendous fortress, the proud nobles, or mirzas, hold their secret meetings, amidst the silence and solitude of nature. They raise the standard of revolt against the khan,

who flies at once from Kaffa, where he had fixed his residence, to Asia (A.D. 1777), and invokes the aid of Russia. Waiting for the signal, the troops pour into the Crimea, slay 7,000 Turks who had come to the aid of the nobles, near Balaclava, and seize that village and fortress, and Kaffa.

And now succeeds a tale of infamy which I must give in the words of the traveller Clarke, who was on the spot while the events were fresh in the memory of men :—

“The khan returned to Karasu-bazaar, where the Russian army was encamped ; and there, in the presence of Russian troops, was persuaded to order his nobles to be stoned to death ; his pretended allies feasting their eyes with the slaughter of men whom they had first induced to rebel against their sovereign, and afterwards caused to be butchered for having complied with their desires. Thus the deluded prince, and his still more deluded subjects, alike duped by designing miscreants, whom they had allowed to take possession of their country, began at last to open their eyes, and endeavoured to rid

themselves of an alliance so fatal in its consequences. But it was too late. The khan was himself prisoner in the very centre of the Russian army."

The proposal was then made to him that he should abdicate : but he had spirit enough to refuse. Then he was tempted by bribes to live in splendour at St. Petersburg, and hold his mimic court in that capital. This, too, he scorned. No alternative remained, but to take him as a prisoner to Kaluga, a wretched hamlet on the Oka, and detain him there as a pensioner on the Russian Court. But no pension being paid, in his despair, and perhaps remorse, the unhappy monarch begged that he might at least be sent to Turkey, judging that, merciless as that Court was to its enemies, he might find it less merciless than Russia. The request was granted ; he was received ungraciously by the Porte, and banished to Rhodes, whither the silken cord was shortly sent to him as a special favour, and he was strangled.

Thus passed the Crimea into the dominion of Russia, and the last relic was destroyed of the

Mogul power, a dynasty, the most extended that the world ever saw, which ruled from the Japan Sea along the banks of the Amoor, the Ganges, and the Irtysh, to the plains watered by the Danube, and the remains of whose magnificence and power are enduring objects of astonishment and admiration.

Selim, the rival khan, fled, with all the remaining nobles, to Circassia, and there joining that brave, unyielding people, kept alive the spirit of hatred towards the Russian domination. One member of the princely family of Guerai lingered behind, whose son still lives in great retirement at Akmetchet, or Simpheropol. At one time he visited England, and is now married to an English lady. The children of this last of the Guerais are brought up as Protestants, and the daughter, it is said, is married to a foreign gentleman, of the same persuasion, in the Russian service.¹

What a text is this for a sermon on the mutability of fortune, when we contemplate in this Christian female in her domestic privacy,

¹ Koch's Crimea.

the lineal descendant of the mighty Zinghis Khan, the lord of Asia, and whose family were the terror of Christendom !

With very different feelings, yet with the same lesson before us, we may regard the subsequent fate of the Crimea. It was overrun by Russians. By the order of Catharine, 75,000 Armenians and Christians were expelled, in order to ensure its perfect subjection. This odious work of extermination was entrusted to the ruthless Suwarroff, and the wretched exiles, led into the steppe on the west of the Sea of Azoff, there perished miserably of cold, and destitution, and hunger.

In 1787, the Empress of Russia, the capable but dissolute Catharine, the author of all this scene of woe, made a progress to inspect this newly-acquired territory, which was represented to her as a very garden, the choicest of all her vast possessions. It could have been but little more than a desert ; but her odious minion Potemkin, the executor of all her previous designs, and governor of the province, received her ; and to flatter his royal mistress, he caused

a house to be erected for her at every point where she nightly stopped, and temporary villages to be erected along the road where her procession passed. It is in this manner that the monarchs of that great empire have been frequently blinded by adulation, in regard both to their own real character, and to the condition of their dominions.

The Crimea was to be amalgamated with Russia. Hence the old names were superseded by others reviving the association of the old Greek Empire. The imposing title of *Sebastopol* displaced the name of *Achtiar*. *Simpheropol*, which may mean either the "useful" or the "double" city, took the place of *Akmetchet*, and hither the capital was removed from the old and romantic *Baktchi-serai*. *Cherson* was revived at the mouth of the *Dnieper*, and *Eupatoria*, by a strange geographical error, restored at *Kosloff*. But this was not the worst work of demolition that was executed. All that was ancient was doomed and destroyed. *Kertch* and *Kaffa* especially were scenes of worse than Vandal devastation. Beautiful mosques and

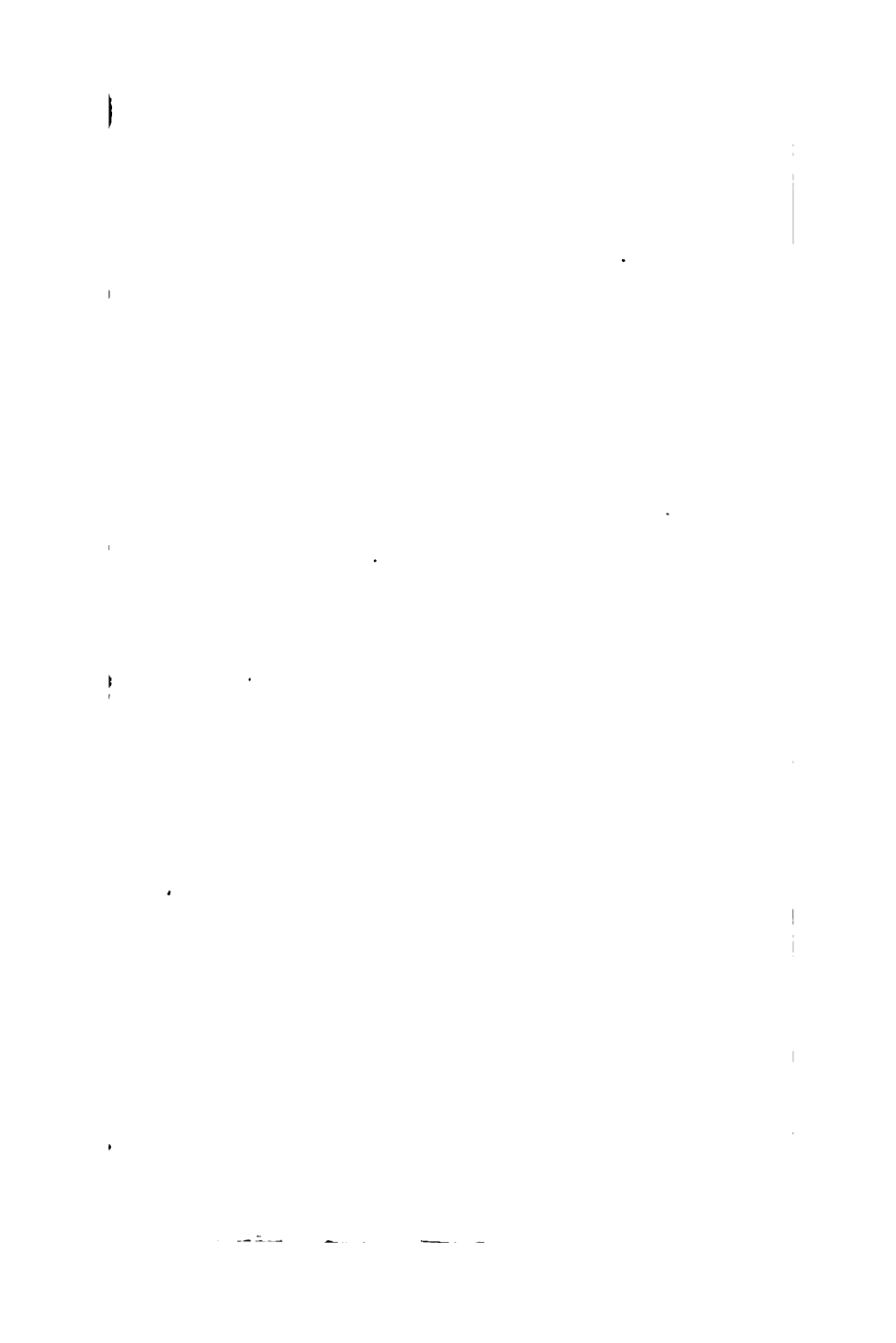
minarets; public fountains and aqueducts, the pride and the great glory of the Moslem; public edifices, however imposing and sacred, were overthrown; trees were cut down, tombs rifled, the relics of the dead cast abroad, swine fed out of coffins, and the monuments of antiquity annihilated.

The traveller Clarke, in 1800, watched the rude Russian soldiery pulling down the principal minaret at Kaffa; and while the imperturbable Turks were breathing deep and bitter imprecations on the enemies of the Prophet, even a Greek turned and muttered, in scorn and indignation, *Σκίθαι* (Barbarians)!

But graver thoughts than those of antiquarian sentiment, or even of human sympathy, now invest the Crimea. It has played important parts in the world's history, but none so critical as that which it will have hereafter to discharge. For upon that shore is to be determined the question, in which all civilization is interested, whether it is to be an outwork, a bastion, a fortress of attack and aggression to Russia,—or whether it is to remain, as it has ever been, and

has suffered in being, one prominent point in that long barrier of protection which Divine Providence has erected to defend the gentler refinements of the South from the ruthless violence of the North.

THE END.



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